

# SOCIAL EDUCATION

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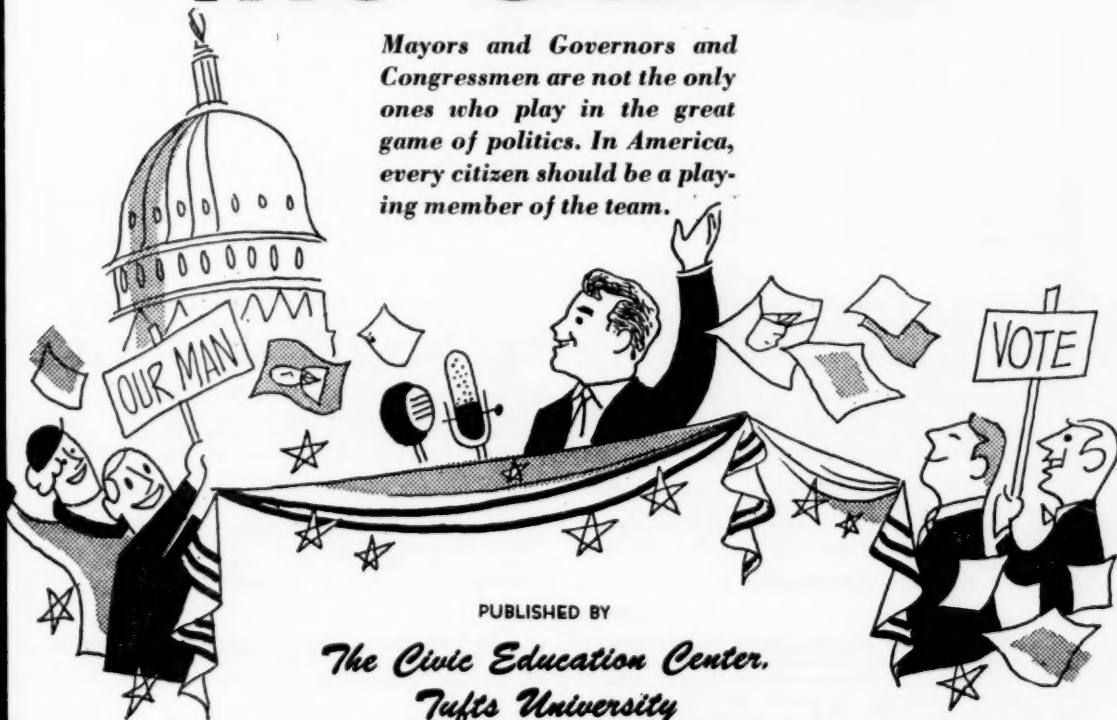
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## Editor's Page

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### THE VOTER

IT IS 6:40 A.M. on a midsummer's day in Truro, the small village on the outer tip of Cape Cod, Massachusetts, in which we live, and we have just finished our pre-breakfast check of various weather instruments scattered about the premises. The thermometer on the north side of the house reads 63°; the barometer over the fireplace in the dining room registers 30:85 inches of pressure and is steady; the hygrometer on our desk indicates a relative humidity of 55 percent; the rain gauge on the post of the split rail fence just outside the window is empty, as it has been for the past three weeks; and the weathervane on the roof, a plump black whale that we fashioned out of sheet metal and carefully installed on his twenty-four hour a day job, is swinging uncertainly from north to south and back again, although without any show of animation, for the breeze is light and fitful. If the whale would only settle down and point steadily toward the northwest quadrant, we would be tempted to forecast a clear day with bright blue skies, "a Cape day," we call it here, but his constant shifting back and forth, almost as though he had a will of his own, leaves us a little uneasy.

We invariably use the personal pronoun when we speak of the weathervane. The other instruments look and act like instruments. One is never tempted to think of a barometer, for instance, as "she" or "he"; the barometer always

remains the coldly impersonal "it." But a weathervane is something else again, whether it has the form of a whale or a fish or a rooster, and the temptation to compare the weathervane to, say, a voter, or to the totality of voters, particularly in an election year, is obviously irresistible.

Once, a year or so ago, the shaft on which our weathervane pivots became corroded from the salt in the air. For several days, until we found time to get out a ladder and clean and oil the shaft, the whale pointed stubbornly toward the south. Not even the strongest wind could force him to change his position. His behavior on this occasion reminded us of a character in our community who prides himself on his consistency as a voter. He has never voted anything but a straight Republican ticket, he says, and even a brief conversation with him forces one to the conclusion that it would take more than sandpaper and oil to free him from his prejudices and give him any intellectual independence. With some people a consistent voting record may be the result of thoughtfully developed convictions, but the chap we have in mind doesn't belong in this select company, not by a long shot. His latest story (we took the pains to drop by and get it from his own lips) is that President Eisenhower wasn't ill a single day during the past winter. The reports of Eisenhower's illness were evil hoaxes perpetrated on the voters by

*(Concluded on page 284)*

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### About This Issue

By and large, credit for this special pre-election issue—but none of the responsibility for any of the shortcomings—belongs to the political scientists, eleven of whom agreed to prepare articles, *did* prepare articles, and what from an editor's view is not by any means the least important consideration, met the deadlines and the allocated word count right on the button. Our thanks to *all* contributors, political scientists and social studies teachers, and our special thanks to Professor Howard White of Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, and Professor Henry J. Abraham of the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, both of whom not only wrote articles for us but also gave generously of their time and their experience in suggesting topics and authors for the special issue.

We regret that lack of space prevents us from publishing articles by G. Edward Janosik ("Campaign Finance") and George G. Bruntz ("A Look at Government in Action"). Both of these articles will appear in the November issue.

# Bipartisan Foreign Policy?

Howard White

IN HIS Farewell Address, Washington warned his fellow citizens "in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the Spirit of Party, generally. . . . It serves always to distract the Public Councils, and enfeeble the Public administration." Many citizens today are inclined to agree with him, particularly as to the formulation and execution of foreign policy.

If we believe that a two-party system is essential for our government, can we reasonably expect politics to "stop at the water's edge"? Can the system be effective if the opposition party does not criticize the content and execution of foreign policy? If its criticism is limited to what purport to be domestic matters? Can domestic and foreign policies be separated when the interdependence of all peoples is becoming so obvious? When what our government does affects so many interests beyond our borders?

These questions may seem to invite a definite, negative answer. Some doubts arise when they are examined more closely. If we accept the assumption that neither partisanship nor bipartisanship is a moral imperative, as Max Beloff of Oxford University does,<sup>1</sup> we can derive our answer from experience, on where partisanship, and bipartisanship, respectively, have proved workable and, on balance, beneficial to the nation.

How partisan were "We, the People," in the days when "a more perfect Union" was taking form? "The first generation of the Republic was set on a background of war—and world war at that—just as our generation has been. . . . Americans were more concerned with world affairs in

that time than in any other until our own."<sup>2</sup> We should learn from their experience. Washington distrusted partisanship. By choosing Jefferson for secretary of state, he may have hoped to keep an opposition from developing or at least, by having Jefferson in his official family, to assure a bipartisan foreign policy. In either case, such hope was short-lived. Even before leaving the Cabinet, Jefferson was encouraging Madison in the House to organize an opposition to the administration policy toward France and the Jay treaty with Great Britain.

From his vantage-point as President of the Senate while John Adams was President, Jefferson actively led the opposition which, sympathizing with the French, denounced the administration's foreign policy in terms seldom equalled in subsequent history. Even the threat, and actuality, of punishment under the Sedition Act did not prevent some members of his party from hurling venomous charges comparable to the "twenty years of treason" of more recent history.

In his inaugural address, Jefferson tried to quiet the storm of dissension he had helped to create. He declared: "We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans; we are all Federalists." If this was an appeal for bipartisanship, it was no more successful than Washington's attempt. Numerically, the opposition in Congress and the nation was weaker than that which had confronted the two preceding administrations; but it was no more disposed to cooperate with Jefferson's party than the latter had been to cooperate with the Federalists.

The experience of this initial period proved to be a preview of succeeding administrations. When relations with one or more foreign nations became critical, at least until the actual outbreak of war, partisan differences were widely proclaimed. Even war did not prevent the threat

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Professor White is Chairman of the Department of Government at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, and Director of the Southern Ohio Citizenship Clearing House. An active member of the American Political Science Association, he has also found time to work with the National Council for the Social Studies. He has contributed generously to *Social Education*, has served on the magazine's Advisory Board, and is currently a member of the NCSS Committee on Relations with Learned Societies.

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<sup>1</sup> In his *Foreign Policy and the Democratic Process*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1955. p. 76. This is a valuable book for all interested in foreign policy, both for the author's comprehensive grasp of pertinent factors and for the wide range of authorities he draws upon.

<sup>2</sup> Dumas Malone of Columbia University. *New York Times Magazine*, May 27, 1956. p. 34.

of secession by New England Federalists. (For a precedent, they could cite the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions!) In 1915 and until war came in 1917, Wilson was denounced for writing notes instead of resorting to force. The Armistice of 1918 unleashed the partisanship which war had restrained. Isolation versus intervention divided our citizens before Pearl Harbor. Our foreign policy has usually evolved in a partisan context.

Republican support of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, during and after World War II, initially led by Senator Vandenberg, and Democratic support of Eisenhower's foreign policy, without which it would not have won congressional approval, have led some to believe that a new era of bipartisan foreign policy has begun. "President Eisenhower—and more importantly the country—confront the post-Geneva era in the profound protection of a bipartisan foreign policy of rarely matched peacetime strength and vigor."<sup>3</sup> This view, expressed in 1955, may be somewhat dimmed by the approaching 1956 election. Democratic legislators who formerly voted liberal grants are now critical of foreign aid, particularly military aid. (Some Republicans have consistently opposed both forms.) Republican claims, such as President Eisenhower's assertion that "the prestige of the United States since the last world war has never been as high as it is this day,"<sup>4</sup> take on a similar partisan coloration. "If he (Eisenhower) really believes that the prestige of the United States is higher than at any time since the second world war," Ernest Lindley comments, "he is probably the only informed observer of world affairs who does. Some think it is lower than at any time since early 1947, before the Truman Doctrine was proclaimed. . . . If the country and the world are not thoroughly confused about our foreign policy by Election Day, it will not be the fault of the candidates."<sup>5</sup>

Does this mean that bipartisanship in foreign affairs is a mirage? No. It appears from time to time, for some aspects, but rarely, if ever, for the entire field of foreign policy. Jefferson's treatment of the Barbary pirates won general ap-

proval, but his embargo and nonintercourse acts did not. Bipartisanship may be expected in wartime and whenever widespread popular approval of a particular policy is evident.

"The recent rise of a bipartisan foreign policy toward Europe may reflect the awareness among our party leaders that Soviet imperialism has forced a semblance of unity among the various ethnic strains in America—for the first time in our history. Great bitterness still prevails among Americans of Central European origin whose homelands have fallen under Soviet rule. This can bring a political profit to candidates who succeed in blaming the event on a rival party. But there appears to be little profit in trying to build a new majority by playing European ethnic strains against each other, when almost all of them feel that only a vigorous American hand in Europe can save their homelands from a Russian conquest."<sup>6</sup>

But there is political capital to be made out of a partisan attack on our policy toward Asia, as the 1952 campaign and Secretary Dulles' "brink of war" statement have demonstrated. So, too, in 1919, a shrewd and resourceful minority challenged President Wilson's assurance, which most Americans seemed ready to accept, that the League of Nations would bring peace to the war-weary world. Senators Lodge, Borah, Johnson, and a few others attacked, activating the latent desire of many to return to the relative isolation of pre-war days. So successful was their campaign that the pro-League Democrats (and Republicans) were eventually silenced. The outcome might have been different had Wilson overcome personal feelings and invited Senator Lodge and former President Taft to serve with him on the Peace Commission.

Roosevelt and Truman learned from Wilson's failure, sending a genuine bipartisan delegation to San Francisco to draft the Charter of the United Nations. By that time, too, many more Americans were convinced that our nation could no longer avoid its international responsibilities. The situation required bipartisanship. It was the expedient course for both parties. It has not become a prevailing rule. It is limited to specific features of our foreign policy. Support for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Marshall Plan was bipartisan, probably in large part for the reasons mentioned above, at a time when no holds were barred in the attack on the Truman-Acheson policy toward China. Now, NATO seems to be losing its appeal to the American public and is becoming a target for partisan sharpshooters. This offensive may fail, either by NATO becoming more than a military

<sup>3</sup> William S. White. *Ibid.*, Aug. 7, 1955. Reprinted in *Elections—U.S.A.*, edited by Evron M. and Jeane J. Kirkpatrick. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1956. p. 95.

<sup>4</sup> Off-the-cuff, frankly political speech at the National Citizens for Eisenhower Conference. *The Washington Post and Times-Herald*, June 1, 1956. p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> "Washington Tides," his column in *Newsweek*, June 11, 1956. p. 45.

<sup>6</sup> Sidney Hyman. *The American President*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954. p. 39.



alliance, or by the need for military defense becoming more acute, and more widely felt.

With some persons, the desire to remove their nation's foreign policy from the confusion and recrimination of partisan strife may be a manifestation of patriotism. They realize that if the nation "shows itself hopelessly divided internally, if doubts are cast on the loyalty and the intelligence of its public servants, if danger promotes a hunt for scapegoats rather than a search for remedies, that country's ability to exercise influence abroad is in fact diminished. There has been an actual loss of power."<sup>7</sup>

Others may favor bipartisanship because they distrust democratic processes. Public opinion polls in the United States have shown that "only 25 percent of the electorate consistently shows knowledge of foreign problems."<sup>8</sup> The 75 percent which lacks knowledge, say these critics, can be manipulated by public relations experts to elect candidates regardless of their fitness to deal with international complexities. A similar criticism, with a slight change of percentage, applies to domestic policies. How many voters, even among farmers, closely followed debates in Congress and read or heard the President's message vetoing the first farm bill? How many know what changes were made in the approved second bill? Those who accept representative democracy rely upon the fact, noted by Lord Bryce and other careful observers, that on broad issues of policy, the mass of the citizens are more likely to judge wisely than an "elite."<sup>9</sup>

The farm bills serve as reminder of a question raised at the outset: Can foreign and domestic policies be separated? Surely farm policy is a domestic problem. How is the present surplus of farm crops to be disposed of? The Department of State hastens to warn the congressional committees on agriculture that dumping the surplus abroad will injure our relations with other nations. Conflicting interests among groups of our citizens may offer some opportunities for partisan advantage by ignoring protests from

abroad, but legislators of both parties from states producing no cotton or grain for export may be unwilling to endanger our relations with other nations.

The issue is hardly one of partisanship versus bipartisanship. It may be fought out between isolationists and internationalists, or it may become mainly one between legislators seeking to promote the immediate interests of their constituents in cotton, wheat, corn, and dairy states by logrolling a bill through Congress and, on the other hand, the executive branch which must take a broader view of the nation's welfare.

The power conflict between legislative and executive branches of our government may be a more serious handicap to sound foreign policy than an extreme partisanship. Opposition to the League of Nations was in no small degree due to Congressional resentment toward the growth of executive power in Wilson's administration. Partisanship also figured in that instance; but it does not account for the current drive to put the Bricker-Dirksen limitation on the President's treaty-making power into the Constitution. Here are Republican senators strenuously persisting in an attempt to amend the Constitution against the clearly expressed opposition of a Republican President. Ironically, they would, if successful, tie their own hands; and they would have succeeded if the Democratic senators had not supported the Republican President. Need anything more be said to dispose of the problem of partisanship?

It is none the less true that partisanship has an essential function in our system of government. It is the duty of the party out of power to find fault with legislative proposals of the majority party. Many an error has been corrected before being enacted into law because the opposition was performing its function. Its duty is not only to oppose and to criticize. It should also propose alternatives and force a complaisant administration to act. If any benefits accrued from the meeting "at the summit" in the summer of 1955, it was due to the insistence of the Democratic chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. More recently, the increases in appropriations for the air force would probably not have been made had not Democratic members of the armed services committees kept prodding the Defense Department by calling for comparison of our forces with those of the Soviet Union.

In one sense, this may even be called bipartisanship. The party which does not control the

<sup>7</sup> Beloff, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 56, quoting Martin Kriesberg, "Dark Areas of Ignorance," *Public Opinion and Foreign Policy*, edited by Lester Markel. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949, p. 51. See also Herbert H. Hyman and Paul B. Sheatsley, "Some Reasons Why Information Campaigns Fail," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 11:412-23 (Fall, 1947), in Katz et al., *Readings in Public Opinion and Propaganda*.

<sup>9</sup> James, Viscount Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, II, chapter 76, and *Modern Democracies*, II, p. 368 for discussion of means and ends, and p. 547-9 for discussion of interest in politics among citizens, also I, p. 157.

# Why There Is a Farm Problem

Ralph B. Price

IF ONE reviews current agricultural statistics, he knows that the problem facing farm people is not merely imagination. Farmers have suffered a loss in income while urban people have enjoyed rising incomes. It is also clear that no one is satisfied with measures taken to date to cope with the present emergency in agriculture.

In an election year issues are avidly sought; this year one of the foremost is agriculture. Normally one might expect some economic judgment to prevail, but not so in an election year. This is the time, as former President Truman said, when "we become somewhat as primitive people do at the time of a full moon." During the campaign little illumination of the farm problem can be expected. After the election it will be passed back to the economists for another attempt to write farm legislation.

## AMERICAN AGRICULTURE TODAY

The income to agriculture has suffered a decrease of about 20 percent per farm and per farm worker since 1951, with the most severe drop in 1955, a year of great prosperity for non-farm people. But over-all figures do not tell the complete story. While prices of farm products dropped more than 25 percent in this period and total farm income dropped more than 30 percent, farm population dropped also and farmers' income from non-farm activities rose so that total per capita income to persons living on farms for 1955 was only about 11 percent less than 1951. At the same time, net income per farm (after adjusting for prices) was more than twice the level of 20 years ago. Further, J. D. Black, one of the leading students of agricultural economics, points out that for the period, 1910 to 1954, the total income of the farm population increased

2.4 times (after adjusting for prices) while that of the non-farm population was increased less than 2.0 times.<sup>1</sup> In 1954 per capita net income of farm people was \$913 while that of non-farm people was \$1838. After adjustments are made for the non-money income of farm people such as farm-produced food and fuel and the farm dwelling, there does not appear to be an alarming disparity between farm and non-farm people in states in the North and West, but in the South, which has nearly 50 percent of the total number of farms, the disparity is very great.<sup>2</sup>

The drop in income of farm people is the result of farm production growing more rapidly than the demand for farm products, plus a big decrease in farm exports. Much has been made of the fact that the farmer's share of the consumer's dollar has dropped 20 percent as a factor in the farmer's plight. But this is not a cause of low prices for farm products. Even though the farmer's share has fallen, processors, wholesalers, and retailers are not actually making any more; their profit is off 28 percent since 1947. While consumers are spending relatively more for food, the increase in total amount spent is absorbed by higher marketing and processing costs, e.g., frozen foods, increased packaging costs, increased labor costs, etc. One must look to the technological change in agriculture which has been spectacular, especially since 1940. Farms use twice as many tractors, four times as many grain combines, and five times as many corn pickers as in 1940. Also farm size has been increasing as part of the increased efficiency of mechanization. The average family farm—the core of American agriculture, comprising nearly 70 percent of all farms<sup>3</sup>—is now significantly larger than it was 15 years ago.<sup>4</sup> Better seeds, advanced breeds of live

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<sup>1</sup> John D. Black, "Agriculture in the Nation's Economy," *American Economic Review*, March 1956, p. 26-27. This was Professor Black's presidential address at the Sixty-eighth Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association, New York, December 29, 1955.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Ronald L. Mighell, *American Agriculture, Its Structure and Place in the Economy*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1955, p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Murray R. Benedict, *Can We Solve the Farm Problem?* New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1955, p. 522n.

stock, new insecticides, and antibiotics have produced an increasing stream of products. For example, hybrid corn has increased yields 20 percent and last year a lot of live stock got aureomycin and terramycin—they grow faster with it in their feed. This advanced technology and these larger farms have brought a marvelous increase in productivity per man-hour. In 1900 one farm worker produced enough to feed himself and six other persons, but today he supports more than 17 other persons. Over the years the output of the farm has increased by a larger percentage than the population, a great deal of this increase occurring since 1940. Part of this increase in food available for human consumption has been due to the shift to tractor power from horses and mules. Seventy million acres were freed from growing feed for horses and mules between 1918 and 1953. This particular kind of increasing productivity diminishes as agriculture approaches complete mechanization, but increasing productivity per man-hour from better technology—seed, fertilizer, insecticides, antibiotics, and so forth—continues.

Changes have been occurring in the farm population also. There are ten million fewer farm people than there were 20 years ago—22 million as against 32 million persons on farms in 1935. Only 10 percent of the nation's labor force is in agriculture today compared to 27 percent in 1920; and only 13.5 percent of the nation's population lives on farms compared to 30 percent in 1920.

There are approximately 5.4 million farms in the U.S., but a million of these have average incomes of less than \$1000 per year. Some of these low income farms are not classed as commercial inasmuch as their owners receive most of their income from outside work, i.e. these are merely residential "farms." Agriculture as a means of earning money is the chief interest of operators of commercial farms. About another 2.5 million farms provide merely a subsistence living for their operators. Strange as it may seem, the remainder, approximately 2 million farms—between 50 and 60 percent of all farms—produce about 90 percent of all farm products sold commercially.<sup>5</sup> These 2 million farms include large-scale farms and nearly 70 percent of all family-scale farms. Therefore between 40 and 50 percent of all farm units are too small, undercapitalized, and inefficient to provide adequate incomes even under government supported prices.

<sup>5</sup> Mighell, *op. cit.*, p. 45, 143-145.

#### THE FARM PROBLEM

It is well known that the farm problem involves "commodity surpluses," but unfortunately little publicity is given to the problem of surplus farmers. This is a politically unpopular fact as Secretary Benson has found after making statements from which such a conclusion could be drawn. Despite the fact that farm people have been leaving the farm in increasing numbers, the total number of farm people living on farms has not decreased fast enough. With approximately one-half of the nation's farmers producing only about 10 percent of the farm produce, there are obviously too many persons in agriculture relative to land and capital to make more than a subsistence living for many. On the larger, more efficient farms the farm-family income position (including non-money items such as food, fuel, and the farm house) is only slightly unfavorable to urban workers. It is the 2.5 million commercial farms producing bare subsistence where the greatest adjustments are required.

The solution of the farm problem must therefore involve further migration of persons from low-income farms to jobs where they can be more productive. Also there must be further consolidation of small units into larger units which will provide a family with an adequate return from its capital investment and labor. But unfortunately it is not likely that much will be heard about this aspect of the problem in an election year. We will talk as though we can "keep them all down on the farm."

#### THE FALLACY OF PARITY

Unfortunately "parity" has been more of a political instrument than a valid statistical standard over most of the period it has been in use. Agriculture turned to government for a solution to its ills after the expansion of World War I and the price deflation in 1920. In the 1920's the so-called farm bloc was organized with the objective of "equality for agriculture." During those years parity—a statistical concept using 1909-1914 as a base to relate prices received by farm people for their products to prices they must pay for processed goods—was developed, but was not actually written into law until the passage of the Agricultural Adjustment Act in 1933. Since that time legislation has required the government to adhere to the original base period for most products in farm programs.

Through the years there have been a variety of government programs to raise the prices of farm products to some established percentage-of-

parity level. These have involved acreage cut-backs, food subsidies, export subsidies, conservation and soil building, and price support through loans and purchases, with emphasis on six "basic" commodities: wheat, cotton, corn, rice, tobacco, and peanuts. The programs have been used in combination, the price support through loans and purchases being constantly in use. Under the loan provisions the farmer is permitted to borrow on his harvested crop at the pre-determined percentage-of-parity price. Should the market ever exceed the support price he can sell and pay off his loan; otherwise the government eventually takes title to the crop in storage (the government is in a "heads you win, tails I lose" position). Under the purchase provisions the Commodity Credit Corporation enters the market and buys products for storage and food distribution programs such as school lunches until the price reaches the established percentage-of-parity level. In 1954 the Secretary of Agriculture was given authority to establish "flexible supports," i.e., reduce the support price when a surplus begins to reach undesirable levels and thus reduce incentives for farmers to produce that particular commodity.

Naturally the price-support program, based on a parity formula using a base period over 40 years old, brings forth an avalanche of farm produce. Why? Because price-cost relationships in 1909-1914 period are not comparable to those of the 1950's when productivity per man-hour is about three times greater. At the support prices it pays farmers to produce more than is demanded by the consumer.

The fallacy of this formula has been recognized in theory and fact for a number of years. The proof of the fallacy is the \$9 billion in surplus commodities purchased by the United States government and stored across the country at a cost of \$1 million a day. Recognition of the obsolescence of parity led to a "modernization" of the formula in the Agricultural Act of 1949 with the proviso that the new version go into effect in 1950. But year after year Congress has postponed the application of modernized parity. The farm bill vetoed by the President in March, 1956, would actually have permitted the farmer a choice of either modernized parity or the old formula whichever provided the higher price! The one significant addition to farm legislation which Congress provided in 1956 is the "soil bank" plan. This is actually a supplement to existing soil conservation legislation with the objective of retiring acres from production. But

in the long run the soil bank is not likely to make more than a dent in the surplus problem. More fertilizer and better seeds can always be applied to remaining acres.

#### AGRICULTURAL SURPLUSES AND FOREIGN RELATIONS

One thing that the farm problem is not is "just a domestic problem" which we can allow to go unsolved without affecting our neighbors abroad. The surpluses owned by the United States government have far-reaching effects on both sides of the globe—e.g., rice-growing in Burma and cotton-growing in Egypt. We have disturbed, and perhaps permanently estranged, the Burmese, who are heavy producers of rice for export to such countries as Japan and Indonesia. By the United States government's officially pushing our surplus rice into Japanese and Indonesian markets the Burmese have been partially displaced from their traditional markets and the price of rice in the Far East has been weakened. Therefore, the Burmese have felt forced to barter their rice to the Soviet Union and her satellites. Our program of supports for cotton has created a different pattern. Over the past 20 years high price supports for cotton have furnished an umbrella for competing foreign producers; consequently they have been able to undersell American producers.<sup>6</sup> Cotton production abroad has therefore been constantly increasing while United States acreage has been decreasing. Furthermore, as United States acreage was reduced, remaining acres were made more productive; for example, about as much is being produced on 16.5 million acres now as was grown on 26.5 million acres four years ago. Consequently world production patterns and cotton markets have been unnaturally changed and developed.

All United States surpluses are a constant threat to foreign producers. They fear the United States voter will eventually tire of the expensive agricultural programs and force the government to dump the surpluses on world markets and depress prices. In fact, against recommendations of the administration, mandatory provisions for the disposal of surplus cotton stocks in world markets at competitive prices was written into the Agricultural Act of 1956. No sooner had the bill been enacted than the Uruguayan Minister to the United States warned

<sup>6</sup> D. Gale Johnson, "Agricultural Price Policy and International Trade," *Essays in International Finance*, No. 19. Princeton: Princeton University, June 1954. p. 13. Also see Benedict, *op. cit.*, p. 454-455.



that it would start a "price war in cotton markets of the world." He called the cotton provision a "large scale dumping scheme" and asserted it would harm South American countries.

Often a question about these surplus products is asked this way: "But the world is hungry! Therefore, at least with the food surpluses such as wheat, rice, butter, peanuts, and so forth, why is there a surplus? Why aren't these products sold to the hungry people in other parts of the world?" The answer must be given in terms of two problems. First, to sell these surpluses in other parts of the world foreign countries must have dollars with which to pay for them; so the United States must furnish dollars either by buying their products or by making investments, loans, or gifts abroad. Obviously any movement toward freer world trade would help solve this problem and move more surplus farm products in world markets. Second, these surpluses cannot be "dumped" (selling the surpluses for what they will bring in world markets irrespective of support prices at home) without serious disturbance to world markets. Such "dumping" would cause great economic losses to foreign producers and would endanger political relationships. Therefore, reducing these surpluses in a peaceful world will call for a gradual, cautious program.

#### TOWARD A SOLUTION<sup>7</sup>

The question is frequently asked whether the rapid growth of our population will not eventually solve the farm problem, if we just muddle through for a few more years, especially in view of the trends for people to leave agriculture, for farms to grow larger, and for farmers to use better technology? Studies<sup>8</sup> which have been made projecting present trends into the future indicate that population growth in the next 20 years may be expected to alleviate at least the unmanageable proportions of present-day surpluses. But productivity will continue to increase with better seeds, insecticides, fertilizers, and so forth; therefore we cannot wait nearly a generation upon a speculative eventuality. There is now an emergency at hand which has serious domestic

and international aspects. Unless forthright action is taken, it has been forecast that in 10 years these surpluses will more than double. In a recent study by the National Planning Association,<sup>9</sup> Black and Bonnen express the view that by 1965 population can be expected to consume no more than 16.9 percent more food and fibre and that meanwhile technology should raise farm output by 21.3 percent, assuming stability in acreage, live stock population, and exports of farm products. Already surpluses are about 4.4 percent of production, while present trends would in 10 years add another 4.4 percent for a total of 8.8 percent of production. Black and Bonnen conclude that if production rose no more than 12.5 percent, we could have "an agriculture which would stand on its own feet without subsidies and controls" except in extreme cases like crop failure, depression, or war.

Proposals for solving the farm problem must be based upon the assumption that appropriate measures will be taken by federal monetary and fiscal authorities to maintain the nation at relatively full employment. Relatively full employment will maintain demand for farm products and permit the necessary adjustment in low income areas by providing opportunities for more people to find employment in more productive work. The agricultural program must recognize two phases: the present emergency phase and the transitional phase to a time when stability can more easily be attained due to change in population and other factors. Measures taken in this present emergency phase will determine the smoothness with which the transition is accomplished.

For the emergency period the studies noted above are in essential agreement that prices of basic commodities should be determined in the market place and not by a rigid parity formula. But they also believe that it is necessary that the community as a whole help farm people meet the cost of adjustment. Black and Bonnen would make compensatory payments to producers on the basis of modernized-parity flexible prices such as provided for in the Agricultural Act of 1949 (postponed down to the present). As market prices fall, commercial exports of surplus commodities would be increased and these stocks could then be "cautiously" reduced. Progressively less dependence would be placed on acreage allotments and marketing quotas.

The part of the program referred to as transi-

(Concluded on page 291)

<sup>7</sup> See Black, *op. cit.*; Benedict, *op. cit.*; Johnson, *op. cit.*; John D. Black and James T. Bonnen. *A Balanced United States Agriculture*, Special Report No. 42. Washington: National Planning Association, 1956; *Economic Policy for American Agriculture*, A Statement on National Policy by the Committee for Economic Development. New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1956. All of these studies are in agreement on principle.

<sup>8</sup> Black, *op. cit.*, p. 17-21; Benedict, *op. cit.*, p. 28-31.

<sup>9</sup> Black and Bonnen, *op. cit.*, p. 27.



# Segregation and the Elections

Reo M. Christenson

**A**LTHOUGH the segregation problem is officially in the hands of the courts, and much has been said about the desirability of keeping it there, it is also hip-deep in the national political stream and moving out steadily deeper. Nor could it have been otherwise. Any issue which arouses feelings as intense as those involved in segregation, which affects the national mores so deeply, which generates a passionate demand for action and an equally passionate resistance, cannot long remain a judicial matter alone. The judiciary can spearhead a course of action, but the thrust cannot follow through unless the political arms of government are willing to back it up.

It is well known, of course, that political parties under our two-party system have an instinctive urge to sidestep questions which deeply divide the nation. Peter H. Odegard has observed that, "Up to 1856 one could read the major party platforms almost in vain for a sign of the slavery tumult that was causing blood to flow in many parts of the Union. . . ." Nor did the Presidential candidates during that period fill in the gap by identifying themselves with any slavery position other than the maintenance of the status quo.

But while today's political parties may not differ sharply in their stand on segregation, they cannot avoid taking a stand. For one thing, the Supreme Court has already committed the nation to a positive policy which cannot be reversed. The Court is apparently supported by the majority of Americans, and certainly by the dominant organs of public opinion. Above all, too many votes are at stake for the parties to ignore.

The importance of the franchise, in forcing the parties to face the segregation issue, is hard

to exaggerate. In the ante-bellum period Negroes exerted no direct political influence largely because they lacked the vote. Today ten million Negroes are theoretically eligible to go to the polls, and perhaps six million can vote as freely as whites. Most of the latter, moreover, are bunched in such politically strategic urban centers as New York, Los Angeles, Detroit, Chicago, Philadelphia, Kansas City, St. Louis, Cleveland, and Cincinnati.

The potential importance of the Negro vote is well illustrated by the 1948 election. Since President Truman carried Ohio, Illinois, and California by a margin of only about 1 percent, it is estimated that a shift of only 15 percent in the Negro ballots of those states would have cost him the election. The Negro, then, may hold the balance of power in any close presidential race.

If the colored vote were in the hip pocket of one party or the other, the segregation issue would affect this fall's campaign less. But the Negro's apparently unshakable loyalty to the party of Abraham Lincoln, which gave way to an equally firm allegiance to the party of Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry Truman, seems to be breaking loose from its moorings again.

By its pressure for equal rights in the District of Columbia, its completion of the armed force integration program begun by President Truman, its creation of a Government Contract Compliance Committee for reducing racial discrimination in the employment of workers on federal contract jobs, its selection of a number of Negroes for important administration posts, and through the impact of the desegregation decision (under "a great Republican Chief Justice," as Vice-President Nixon said), the Eisenhower Administration has given Republicans campaign meat they have lacked and badly needed since the early days of the New Deal.

The price for this, of course, has been the loss of whatever chances the Republican Party had of repeating its southern break-through in the last general election. Southern leaders are generally agreed on this point.

But the Democrats have also paid a price for their improved prospects of party unity. The

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defiant attitude of the South on desegregation has soured many Negroes on the party which not only tolerates southern Democrats in its midst, but elevates one of their foremost racists to chairmanship of the Senate committee handling civil rights bills and passing on judicial appointments.

And since the Southern Manifesto denouncing the desegregation decision was drawn up and presented by the most responsible southern leaders, it has convinced many Negroes that not even the more enlightened elements in the Democratic South can be relied on to discreetly help their cause along.

Nor has the "moderate" desegregation position of Adlai Stevenson been well received by Negro voters, whatever may be said for its wisdom. When Mr. Stevenson announced that "We must proceed gradually," on the very day Autherine Lucy was being expelled from the University of Alabama, he chose a word Negroes feel strongly about. As a result of this and other statements in a similar vein, Mr. Stevenson is said to have lost much of the favor he enjoyed with Negro voters in 1952. His showing in the California primary, on the other hand, suggests this disenchantment may be less serious than Democrats fear and Republicans hope.

The Democrats, of course, are not without important and enduring sources of strength. The three Negro members of Congress are Democrats (although one of them, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. of New York, has declared for Mr. Eisenhower). Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt continues to command the respect and confidence of colored people to a unique degree. The leading national champions of civil rights legislation are Democratic Senators Hubert Humphrey, Herbert Lehman, and Paul Douglas, and Democratic Governors G. Mennen Williams and Averill Harriman. The most sweeping civil rights legislation before Congress was not the Brownell program, but the bills approved by Democratic Senator Thomas Hennings' Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights and Democratic Representative Emanuel Celler's House Judiciary Subcommittee.

Nevertheless, the Democratic schizophrenia on segregation has undeniably weakened Negro attachment to the party. Spokesmen for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have warned the Democrats they cannot expect to have both Senator Eastland and the Negro vote. Negro newspapers are finding fresh virtues in the Republican Party. And

Republican campaign strategists are said to be confidently expecting—especially if Mr. Eisenhower is their candidate—that shifts in the Negro vote will cancel out whatever farm disaffection persists up to November.

The tactics of colored leaders make clear their intention to make the most of the balance of power they appear to hold. They want neither party to take their votes for granted. They want both parties to have to bid as high as possible for their support. Because the ballot means so much to them, they also want Negroes to take full advantage of their voting rights. Since those rights are often denied in the South, they seek assurances from both parties that federal legislation and executive action will be forthcoming to protect the exercise of the suffrage.

Can the Negro vote be "delivered" to a greater degree than that of most minority groups? Some political analysts believe so.

Whether they are right or not, northern Negroes do appear to value the suffrage highly. Evidence indicates that a slightly higher percentage of northern Negroes voted in the 1952 elections than the national average. Considering the low income status of most Negroes, and the tendency of voting frequency to rise and fall with the income level, this is a remarkable indication of Negro political consciousness.

One vital but as yet undetermined fact is whether the northern Negro vote in 1956 will be influenced more by remembrance of economic gains under the Democrats, reinforced by chronic apprehensions of an economic setback under the Republicans, or by resentment over the southern Democratic position on desegregation.

If the latter, since southern Democrats are not on northern ballots, how will this resentment find political expression? Voting against the Democratic presidential nominee will not alter the composition of Congress. Nor would voting against Democratic congressional candidates friendly to their interests seem to appeal to many Negroes as a logical way to protest against southern congressmen. Yet such a course may commend itself to Negro leaders as the only way to force the break between northern and southern Democrats they hope to bring about.

Democratic campaign strategy this fall will be partly determined by which of three choices the party makes at its convention. It can put unity first, select a moderate candidate and write a moderate civil rights plank. Most southern leaders much prefer this course to the alternative of a southern bolt. They know the convention

cannot repudiate the Court's decision and will undoubtedly support it. But they will settle for a man like Mr. Stevenson or Senator Stuart Symington, fortified by the knowledge that the trumps in Congress are still theirs.

The South may even go along with the party's second alternative—a moderate candidate running on a strong civil rights plank. But if the Democrats select a man like Governor Harriman, in direct defiance of the South and in an open bid to regain the crumbling allegiance of northern Negroes, this could provoke the biggest southern revolt since the Civil War.

Some northern Democrats are apparently willing to risk that revolt. They argue that neither Presidents Roosevelt nor Truman needed the South in order to win. They say only a fighting liberal candidate and a fighting liberal program (liberal, in this case, being partially interpreted to mean a Harriman-Williams approach to desegregation rather than the Stevenson approach) can compete successfully against a middle-of-the-road Republican candidate and program.

If the Democrats elect to hold the party together, however, as seems more probable, the Republicans will be tempted to exploit their opportunity to the limit. The Democratic hold on the larger cities, where northern Negroes are mainly concentrated, constitutes the biggest single threat to the long-run future of the Republican Party. But enough emphasis on Negro gains under Eisenhower, and on the civil rights rift in Democratic ranks, could change the picture.

By pressing the segregation and civil rights issues, moreover, and thus obliging the Democratic candidate to try to equal or surpass its bid, the GOP can hope to widen the breach between northern and southern Democrats. With no southern wing to worry about, and no hopes of winning much electoral support in the South anyway, the GOP is in a strong position to launch this offensive.

This holds true despite the reluctance of the Old Guard element to interfere with "states' rights," or to enhance the power of the Federal Government at the expense of the states. As it has learned from sad experience, the Republican right wing seldom finds much comfort in the campaign pronouncements of its party's presidential nominees.

If the Negro vote veers to the GOP, however, it will more likely be a protest against southern Democrats than a gravitation toward a GOP stand on segregation and civil rights which is bolder than the Democratic nominee can match. Once the convention is over, whether the South bolts or stays hitched, the Democratic Presidential candidate will feel less obliged to placate that area's sensitivities. Even a man like Mr. Stevenson, who is loath to say one thing at one time and something else at another, would be likely to find himself saying some things with greater emphasis, as November draws nigh, than he did before the convention. With both candidates thus tending to appeal to much the same constituency, and each pressing his civil rights position as far as the law of diminishing returns dictates, both are likely to wind up on much the same ground.

Such a conclusion is reinforced by the fact that leaders of both parties are already committed to supporting judicial supervision of the desegregation program. This leaves a sharply reduced area for political maneuvering. There will be efforts, of course, to smoke out party leaders on what they propose to do if outright defiance of specific court orders occurs. But while differences of tone and shading may emerge at this point, these are not likely to be striking.

Because the courts temper their decisions to the political winds which blow, they will be following the campaign closely. What the candidates say during the next few months will provide the indispensable democratic setting for the hard judicial choices lying just ahead.

### BIPARTISAN FOREIGN POLICY?

*(Continued from page 248)*

administration demands corrective action because it shares with the government of the day the responsibility for the nation's security. Presumably, when serving as a loyal opposition, they are hoping that the electorate will show its appreciation by giving them a majority of the votes in the next election and so enable them to

take over the executive offices. Later, if not sooner, their hopes may be realized; but in politics there will always be some who are disappointed. That is inevitable in a two-party system. It is a concomitant of partisanship. Most of us, however, prefer disappointment to decapitation.

# How Alike Are Our Two Major Political Parties?

Henry J. Abraham

IN THE forthcoming elections the American voter will presumably choose between the Republicans and the Democrats. From time to time he may have thought of casting his ballot for one of the minor or "third" parties that have sporadically dotted the political horizon, such as the "Know-Nothings," the "Greenbacks," the "Populists," or the "Progressives." But, more likely, he will have determined upon either of the two major ones.

At first glance, an observer unfamiliar with our political scene would conceivably be justified in assuming glaring, perhaps even drastic, differences between our two chief parties, possibly along the same general lines as those which exist between the two British major parties, the Conservatives and the Labourites. Nothing could be further from the facts of political life: the similarities between the Democrats and the Republicans far outweigh any differences that may exist between these two old antagonists.

In making the latter statement two basic premises must be noted: (1) we are here discussing *national*, not local elections; and (2) we are, with one exception, chiefly concerned with the *contemporary* political philosophy of the two parties.

The American party system has always been somewhat of a mystery to the inquiring stranger, for our parties, being mainly concerned with election to office, have defied the classical definitions of a political party. Perhaps the most famous of these is one formulated late in the Eighteenth Century by England's Edmund Burke: "Party is a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavors the national

interest upon some particular principle in which they are all agree." Yet this definition is hardly applicable to our own major political parties. They are only seldom "united"—we need but perceive the split between northern and southern Democrats and "Old Guard" and "Eisenhower" Republicans. They are even less frequently "all agreed" upon some particular principle—unless it be to get into office. And a cynic might well profess that our two parties have frequently been known to place their own interest above that of the nation!

Lord Bryce, the British Ambassador to Washington from 1907 to 1913, viewed our parties from the opposite end of the pole: "What are their principles, their distinctive tendencies?" he asked in his famous study, *The American Commonwealth*. His answer:

Neither party has anything definite to say on . . . issues; neither party has any principles, any distinctive tenets. Both have traditions. Both claim to have tendencies. Both have certainly war cries, organizations, interests, enlisted in their support. But those interests are in the main the interests of getting or keeping the patronage of the government. . . . All has been lost, except office or the hope of it. (3rd Ed., London: Macmillan, Vol. II, p. 21.)

No wonder, then, that Professor Denis W. Brogan, present-day distinguished British political scientist, echoed Bryce by contending that it is the essential character of our American national parties to be "empty bottles," that could be filled with whatever content the necessity of the moment demanded. But are our great parties *really* like "empty bottles," concededly with different labels, but devoid of content? In the view of the present writer this is an unjustifiably harsh judgment: the "bottles" are *not* empty; certain fundamental issues *do* distinguish our two major parties.

Yet first a glance at the significant similarities, for they are vital to an understanding of our political system:

(1) *Both parties are primarily concerned with gaining and holding office.* Unlike minor or "third" parties which are usually more intent upon having their particular scheme or view-

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point adopted by one of the two major parties than with election to office, the basic purpose of the latter is to get into office and to stay there.

(2) *Both parties are "nationalizing" institutions.* While the center of power of our political parties lies at the local rather than at the national level, the two parties do serve to present a national consciousness, a national window, at times even a popularization of issues, to the country. This is true in the sense that the various segments of the parties come together, at least ostensibly, for purposes of agreeing on over-all governmental or opposition strategy, even if only for its propaganda value.

(3) *Basically, both the Democratic and the Republican Party believe in the capitalist, the free-enterprise system.* There may be a difference in their definition of that time-honored concept, a difference of approach or interpretation; but, differences, if any, are merely ones of degree. Neither party has any intention to turn this nation into a socialist, fascist, or communist state, regardless of various political charges and counter-charges.

(4) *Both parties compete for support among essentially the same group of voters.* In countries with multi-party organizations, such as France and other continental lands where as many as two or three dozen parties may appear on the ballot, the appeal of political parties is often directed towards a particular group or class of voters. It does not follow that these various parties concentrate upon only one segment each, but their major effort is so directed. For our major American parties, on the other hand, the whole nation serves as a potential source of votes, although it is true, of course, that one party may be so strong in a certain section of the country as to render it equivalent to a one-party area, such as Democratic Georgia or Republican Vermont. For strategic political reasons there may be greater emphasis placed upon a certain area at a given time; yet this does not alter the basic fact of two-party appeal directed to what is in effect the same group throughout the country: the American voter, no matter what his station or heritage.

(5) *Both parties are agencies of compromise.* Each of the two major parties provides within its scope and machinery the essentials for compromise; without it the two-party system could not survive. This role manifests itself on the national level from the basic selection in primary elections to the ultimate goal of attainment of public office. Furthermore, the role is clearly felt

in the relationship between the legislative and the executive branches of the government, wherein the parties form a significant element of the governmental apparatus, a "bridge" for the separation of powers.

(6) *Lastly, both major political parties are "melting pots" for vastly divergent ideas.* Perhaps the greatest service rendered by the Republican and the Democratic Party is that of serving as "melting pot" for our heterogeneous populace. Almost any viewpoint, be it of the political right, center, or left, can find a home in *either* of the two major parties. Indeed, some of the apparent differences *within* each party are greater than those *between* the two! Hence it is hardly surprising to see within the Democratic Party, for example, such presumably incompatible political philosophies as those of Senators Lehman of New York and Eastland of Mississippi. Yet each of these men was duly nominated and elected as a Democrat, and each will insist that *he* is the *true* Democrat. The same consideration applies to the Republicans, where we find such philosophical opposites as, for instance, Senator Flanders of Vermont and McCarthy of Wisconsin. Here again both were elected and serve as Republicans. Actually, of course, Lehman is much closer to Flanders and Eastland to McCarthy, than they are to their own party-fraters, but the "melting pot" makes the above party designations entirely feasible. Thus each party acts as a harmonizer, a moderator of the diversified economic, political, religious, racial, sociological, psychological, and sectional views that characterize the American people.

So much for the fundamental similarities between our parties. But the premise of this discussion has been that whereas these similarities do exist, it would be incorrect to draw no distinction, whatsoever, between the two major parties. What then are these chief, currently apparent, differences?

(1) On the whole, the vast majority of the *business community*, particularly manufacturing and banking interests, are Republicans, while the *average wage-earner* will usually cast his lot with the Democrats. Naturally, there are exceptions on record, such as prominent business leaders Henry Kaiser and Marshall Field who are stanch Democrats, whereas labor leaders Lewis and Hutchinson have a record of Republicanism. Yet, by and large, today's Republican Party receives most of the "business votes" and the Democratic Party most of the "labor votes."



(2) Largely in view of this situation, the center of gravity of *wealth* is understandably found in the G.O.P., the *lower* and the *low income* groups being allied on the whole with the Democrats. Here again there are exceptions. Governor Averill Harriman of New York, for one, ought to be a conservative Republican by every rule of politics. But the wealthy Mr. Harriman is a loyal New Deal Democrat. Conversely, the marginal farmers of North Dakota and the seasonal fishermen of Maine—most of whom would normally be expected to be Democrats—are devoted Republicans. Applying our general yardstick, however, the Republican Party has been the party of higher income, the Democratic Party that of the less-well-off citizenry.

(3) The third difference is a natural consequence of the first two. Especially in the past generation or two the Democrats have been more "advanced" in their social and economic philosophy of government, while the Republicans, on the whole, have inclined more to the maintenance of the *status quo*. Hence some observers have styled the Republicans the "conservative" and the Democrats the "liberal" party. To categorize the two parties on such a basis, however, would be an oversimplification. How are we to account for the "conservative" Democratic South, the "liberal" Republican Northeast? Moreover, the terms "conservative" and "liberal" have been so maligned and misinterpreted that they are practically devoid of meaning nowadays.

Yet we can say that the contemporary Democratic Party has been more inclined actively to "experiment" in the realm of economic and social legislation. In some cases the Republican Party eventually embraced the resultant legislation, such as the Social Security Act, but in others, such as in the field of public power, it has maintained its far more cautious approach to change. In fiscal policy the Republican Party has rather consistently maintained a more or less "sound" or "hard" money approach, whereas the Democrats, or more precisely the New Deal wing thereof, have at times yielded to a more Keynesian philosophy of taxing and spending. Hence the Democratic Party has repeatedly been castigated as the party of "creeping socialism," of the "welfare state." Name-calling aside, the neutral observer may justifiably contend that the two major parties do accordingly differ in their

conception of the *degree* of governmental regulation and governmental "entrepreneurism." But it is a question of degree rather than one of fundamental principle.

(4) Turning to the field of foreign affairs, a valid differentiation between the two parties since Woodrow Wilson's time has been the inclination on the part of the Republicans to be less internationalist than the Democrats. Congress does contain many a Republican internationalist and many a Democratic isolationist, and certainly President Eisenhower belongs in the former category. But "looking at the record," we find that it has been the Democrats who have championed a general policy of internationalism, the Republicans non-intervention, quasi-isolation. This judgment does not customarily apply either to most Middle Atlantic and New England Republicans or to some of those of the Pacific Far West; still, the very seats of isolation have been the solidly Republican areas of the Midwest and the Plain states.

(5) The last difference is a somewhat more specific one, but it is historically the most clear-cut of all: The espousal of the protective tariff. While it would be inaccurate to designate the Republicans as the "Party-of-the-Protective-Tariff" and the Democrats as the "Party-of-Free-Trade," the history of our government does demonstrate conclusively that ever since the days of Abraham Lincoln the Republican Party has championed the protective tariff. The Democratic Party, on the other hand, has consistently advocated a lower tariff policy. It has not necessarily always backed a *low* tariff, but it has steadily favored a *lower* one than that desired by the Republicans. Here again exceptions do exist, generally based upon considerations of sectional interest, but they represent the proverbial exceptions that prove the rule.

No, the two major American political parties are not akin to the "empty bottles" visualized by Messrs. Bryce and Brogan! Differences do exist. Retaining the metaphor, the Democratic Party and the Republican Party are cut from the same quality glass, incorporate the same outward features, and serve the same general purposes. Yet unlike the rigid form of a bottle, they are elastic and *flexible*. They offer to the voter at least some alternatives in the wine of national politics.

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"The American institutions are democratic, not only in their principle but in all their consequences."—TOCQUEVILLE

# The Nominating Process: A Few Observations

Ralph A. Straetz

**M**OST students of politics consider the primary an inadequate nominating procedure. In recent years they have looked upon the convention with renewed interest, not because the convention has always been used successfully but because it has some characteristics better suited to the process of politics. However, the average voter with vague and confused notions of good government clings affectionately to the primary with the same yearning and hope, held by political reformers a half century ago, that the primary would return government to the people. As a result all 48 states now use the primary for all or part of the nominating procedure.

However limited the achievements of the primary, its proponents repeatedly advocate its extension as a solution to some of the continuing problems involved in the selection of political leaders. In the recent session of Congress, for example, another attempt was made to enact legislation for a national primary to replace our national convention. Such a proposal represents not only a naive evaluation of our experience with the primary but also a considerable misconception of the role of the convention in national politics.

The national convention brings together all the group interests within the party, and, while encouraging the amelioration of these interests, provides a basis for the compromise essential to a national political organization seeking the right and responsibility to control the govern-

ment. The convention gathers and stimulates the interest of the party members and the general public. Despite the shenanigans which embellish the proceedings, the prize—the White House—is an important one and the circus atmosphere and the maneuvering have behind them a deadly serious purpose. While the intense eye of radio and television has not eliminated the power of small groups in the caucus rooms, the interested citizen can now follow their activities closely, although sometimes only in the indirect manner of the observer of a radar screen.

A national direct primary would not eliminate the intrigue and machinations which characterize the conventions. Such goings on, as we shall see, would only be less visible and more difficult to discern. Such a primary would be tremendously expensive, thus eliminating many potential candidates who could not raise the money; it would result in nominations of candidates with plurality support or would necessitate recourse to the additional expense of a run-off primary; but most important of all it would lead to an inflexibility that would encourage wholesale splintering of dissident groups whose hostility to the candidate could not be assuaged by talk, promises and compromise and who would see no loss in taking a walk.

Only one third of the states have some form of presidential primary today. Presidential candidates make their way rather gingerly around or across these hurdles. They are usually avoided in states where strong favorite son candidates exist or where the candidate feels that he has too weak an organization. Only the desperate candidate like Senator Kefauver, who feels he has little to lose, ploughs through most of the primaries. Where the candidate wins without opposition, the result may well be meaningless. In the 1952 Democratic convention a Kefauver floor leader denounced a Pennsylvania delegate who voted for Stevenson for going against the wishes of his district. The delegate retorted that the unopposed Kefauver had received 500 votes in his district which usually has more than 150,000 votes and

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this result he did not consider a mandate.

The usual presidential primary finds the state organization or the dominant governor or senator controlling the delegation for a particular candidate or supporting a favorite son for the purpose of negotiation with a sympathetic candidate. On some occasions the presidential primary may become a battle for prestige between competing state leaders and thus have a greater local than national significance.

Few primary elections find the leading presidential candidates pitted against each other and, therefore, few primaries have strategically important results. There are some exceptions. In 1948 Stassen suffered a heavy blow in Oregon when he went out on a limb against Governor Dewey. The fact that Stassen carried a small number of Ohio delegates that year was evidence of the weakness of the candidacy of Robert Taft. The unusual write-in vote of General Eisenhower in the 1952 Minnesota primary gave considerable prestige to his candidacy. The 1956 Minnesota primary defeat of Adlai Stevenson forced this candidate to make broad changes in his campaign techniques. His successive victories in Alaska, Illinois, Oregon, Florida, and California both enhanced Stevenson's prestige as a candidate and largely destroyed the hope of the Kefauver camp.

More typical, however, in this election year were the results in New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, and New Jersey. The delegates of these large, populous states remain entirely or in large part under the control of the leadership of the state organizations, either because they were not seriously contested or because they were unsuccessfully contested. Even in states where candidates contend seriously for delegates, the contests often tend to be dull because of the general agreement of the contestants on issues or because of their unwillingness to indulge in the kind of contest which might get publicity but which might then make it impossible for the victor and the vanquished to work together in the fall campaign.

As already implied, the prevalent atmosphere in our primaries is the lack of contest. Because primaries even more than our elections are popularity contests, only rarely is an incumbent faced with serious opposition. Only a quarter to a third of the voters turn out to nominate candidates, and for most of them party or public issues have little relevance. Many of the primary voters have ties—family, friend, or occupation—to the candidates. To others the name of an

incumbent, former incumbent, or former candidate will be familiar and their vote will go to the familiar candidate. Or nonentities with common or familiar names will attract the majority of voters. In Ohio the success of candidates named Brown has been such as to become a scandalous joke. For this reason many able candidates are unwilling to submit themselves to the ridiculous gamble of running in the primary unless they are guaranteed no opposition which, in turn, undermines the major purpose of the direct primary.

In the typical primary the voter finds little choice. The typical primary is a deserted primary. For example in Butler county, Ohio, the eleventh largest county in the state of Ohio, the Republican voter, when he went to the polls in May, had no choice in the selection of the 20 delegates and alternates to the national convention; out of 25 state and county, public and party offices, he found five offices for which there was a contest. On the other side, the Democratic voter also had no choice for convention delegate; however, he found nine of the 25 offices contested. Five of the latter were being contested only because of a squabble within the county organization. In the same county in 1954 with eight county offices on the primary ballot only one was contested in each party.

Both parties often have difficulty finding candidates to run for office against popular and veteran office-holders. Those who do run are usually young lawyers looking for an opportunity to advertise ethically, businessmen taking advantage of free advertising, representatives of particular interest groups, or individuals looking forward to a future political career who want to begin to make their names familiar to the voting public. Many candidates appearing on the primary ballot are drafted by the organization which, if possible, will then repay their effort with some form of patronage appointment.

A candidate who ran a good race in the previous election is considered entitled to another uncontested chance. This will not be true after a second loss if the party considers it possible to capture the office.

Negotiation is not necessarily eliminated from the primary scene. Some candidates file only to put pressure on incumbents and withdraw before the final date. Appointments as deputy sheriffs or assistant prosecutors are found for them after the election. Incumbents will get friends or supporters to file so as to split the opposition to their candidacy. Frequently the negotiations will

take place before the date of filing. Potential candidates, especially those with limited purses, will sit down around a table and discuss matters to their mutual advantage. Some of them, usually elderly former officeholders, will withdraw at the threat of opposition. Others who have entered because of some slight, real or imaginary, can be convinced that their cause will not be neglected in the future. The remainder indulge in brisk and active trading which hopefully will eliminate all excess candidates. Those emerging as unopposed candidates can now hoard their meager financial resources for the important campaign in the fall. They are, of course, obligated in matters of future electoral and patronage support to those who yielded so graciously.

The most neglected part of our primaries are the races for party office. These offices are usually at the very bottom of our lengthy ballots and many voters have long since given up the struggle. Moreover, unless there is a battle within the organization, few posts for state, county, or precinct committeeman are ever contested. But it is through these very offices that the interested and involved citizen can achieve access to political power; and it is not as difficult to succeed as some think. Many political leaders retain control of the party organization only because of the apathy of the party membership or party supporters. The writer, weary of inefficient organization leadership, helped lead a revolt in the last primary. His "young Turk" group contested 14 committee seats and won 11. Had the group had the foresight to contest all 27 committee seats, it would have won control of the county organization with ease. Few individuals, however, get sufficiently involved in the political party and as a result, this important potential use of the primary remains dormant.

Some state and county organizations use the pre-primary convention or caucus to endorse slates of candidates for the primaries. The usual reaction to such procedure is that it is a perversion of the purpose of the direct primary. However, it makes sense to the active party man who believes that those who work within the party organization year in and year out should have something to say about those who bear the party label in the general election. Only a strong organization, however, can run the risk entailed in endorsement. The defeat of endorsed candidates may be a mortal blow to the leadership of an organization and when non-endorsed candidates cry boss rule, they usually meet with considerable popular sympathy and support.

In summary, it may be said that the direct primary has not fulfilled the hopes of its early advocates on any level. The average voter ignores the primary with the frequent complaint that its deserted condition belies the need for his participation. Presidential candidates prefer to ignore the primaries because they wish to husband their resources; also because they prefer to gain support through negotiation and avoid the enmity-making activity of the kind of primary campaign that will attract widespread attention. State organizations using favorite sons discourage the invasion of their bailiwick, preferring to bring a negotiable delegation to the convention. Such attitudes make for a minimum amount of primary activity as far as the presidential race is concerned.

With regard to the state and county political picture a few further generalizations might be in order.

1. Incumbents tend to have little serious primary opposition. In fact, some incumbents tend to become bipartisan candidates after long tenure.
2. Candidates who have invested time and money in a close but unsuccessful race are considered deserving of another chance. This unwritten ground rule has a very practical basis. A defeated candidate is nevertheless a known candidate.
3. In the case of a strong organization, candidates can be manipulated by the organization with little worry about retaliation.
4. In weak organizations pre-primary negotiations are a usual procedure. Such activities may be carried on outside the knowledge or interest of the organization.
5. Open pre-primary endorsement either by a slate-making committee or a convention is too strong medicine for most politicians. They dislike the public character of the pre-primary convention and fear the pitfalls involved in open endorsement.
6. Organization people strongly adhere to the tradition of rotation-in-office. Deputies and assistants are pointed toward an office and expect an opportunity to run. The heir-apparent is often obvious, but if there are several, negotiation is preferred to a primary battle.

The primary may be largely deserted but this is not necessarily evidence that the nominating procedure is floundering aimlessly, for the ground rules are fairly well defined. The number of candidates in the primary and the size of the vote may reflect organization strength or weakness. A keen observer may detect in the primary signs of party conflict and general rumblings of rebellion. But the primary has not "returned government to the people." The people seem willing in general to leave the primary to the party faithful and to limit their role in this part of the decision-making process to the November election.



# Preparing for Politics

William H. Eells

WE HAVE visited no college where the intensity of general student interest in politics or the number of students actually taking a real part in it equals what we found at Ohio Wesleyan University." This statement is quoted from a published report by Thomas H. and Doris D. Reed to the Citizenship Clearing House of New York University.<sup>1</sup> This was in 1952. Now, in 1955, Ohio Wesleyan's campus program has been cited again and presented with an award by Freedoms Foundation for "outstanding achievement in bringing about a better understanding of the American way of life."

These citations have made the challenge even greater for those on the campus of Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware, Ohio. As a school endowed with rich opportunities for molding the lives of our future leaders, it hopes to return to the many communities of this nation from which its students come a corps of public-spirited men and women who, in addition to their various vocations, will be ready to take their place as participating citizens.

It was on this premise in 1947 that the university established The Institute of Practical Politics under the able direction of Dr. Ben A. Arneson, at that time chairman of the Department of Political Science, with the support of the faculty and new president, Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, now on leave as director of the Office of Defense Mobilization. This was a lifetime dream of Dr. Arneson, who for years had been encouraging students to go into the active political life of their communities.

It was a pioneer movement which set in motion a good many similar programs at other universities. Dr. Arneson realized that a sound

curriculum and the existing discussion clubs were not enough. Students needed to have their attention focused on their obligations as citizens, and to have habits cultivated that would later impel them to become active citizens politically. It was a notable experiment, according to the *Kiplinger Magazine*.

"Dr. Arneson," said *Kiplinger*, "first utilized the interne method by urging students into summer work for political parties of their choice. He let them learn public service by working in public offices. Some students got paid jobs; others were volunteers. For their work they received college credits. They also got, of course, a lot of practical knowledge."

This activity of the Institute, known as citizenship field training, is enrolling more and more undergraduates. For example, during the 1954 summer months, a senior from Trenton, New Jersey, went to work for the Democratic party of that state. He headed a team of two other companions and recruited five thousand new registered voters for the party. In Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, an attractive coed, in her junior year, organized and carried out a door-to-door campaign on behalf of her father who was running for the school board, while in Columbus, Ohio, a sophomore served as an interne at Republican state headquarters under the direction of the state chairman.

The field course is open to any student on campus who has had the basic course in American government. It is carefully supervised by the instructor in charge who is not only continually in contact with the student but also keeps in touch with the student's immediate superior on the job.

## AIM OF ACTIVITIES

Citizenship field training is just one of the several year-round activities of the institute. A number of other activities have been developed which have continually helped to bring about a climate on the campus favorable to

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<sup>1</sup> See *Preparing College Men and Women for Politics*. New York, 1952.



politics and the politician. These activities have centered around three basic aims: first, to stimulate a number of our students to make a career of government service especially in administrative positions; second, to encourage a much larger number to participate actively in practical politics and in some cases to seek political offices; third, to give all students an appreciation of organized political action in a democracy, an understanding of the more elementary political processes, and a realization of the complexities and the difficulties which are inherent in any system in which the people rule.

Such activities now in operation to carry out these aims include a civic volunteer program. The undergraduate is not the only one interested in political participation—the Ohio Wesleyan alumni are active too. Over 1,100 alumni have become civic volunteers by signing a pledge that upon graduation, regardless of their vocation, they will devote a portion of their time to active participation in public affairs. With the beginning of this program, by Dr. Arneson some twenty years ago, may be dated the real birth of the institute. This year found one young alumnus elected to Congress, another running for a seat on his local commission, a woman graduate campaigning for a post on her city council, and another graduate seeking the post of city solicitor in his community. All are civic volunteers who, unlike some, are not content to just talk about issues alone but realize the importance of getting in and participating. Every member of each senior class is invited to join in this crusade for better government and is furnished with an attractive booklet which describes five immediate things he or she can do to help politics and thus their system of government.

Each year the Institute sponsors two projects which attract nationwide attention, Republican Day and Democratic Day. These two days are held one week apart at which time party leaders from the state and local levels are invited to come to the campus and join with the students in a mutual exchange of ideas and information, relative to the role of the American political party. A prominent national political personality sets the tone for the day with a headline speech before the entire student body. This is followed by group discussions, panels or other individual speakers. In campaign years both days result in the recruiting of students to work with the party of their choice in the primaries and fall election campaigns. These events have helped

to bridge the gap between the college campus and the political party, and have added the public official and party worker to the "faculty-at-large." A better understanding now exists, and students are finding new opportunities with parties, especially in Ohio.

The Institute sponsors special study projects and conferences on related subjects. A recent survey of voting behavior in the city of Delaware, Ohio, compared with an identical survey made by students 24 years ago, is one such study. Students pushed doorbells and gathered information. Among the interesting results were these: that those in their 50's and 60's had the best voting record and that those in their 20's and 30's had the poorest record. Improvement in voting was noted among women, people past 70, college teachers and people living in the more well-to-do neighborhoods. Decreases in voting were discovered among voters in the 20's, those with some high school education and members of organized labor groups.

#### POLITICAL CLUBS

The students maintain their own active Democratic Club and Young Republican Club with assistance from the Institute in bringing to the campus political speakers for club meetings and assemblies. In the presidential years a mock national political convention is held with all students in political science getting a chance to participate.

To help in planning the future course of the Institute a continual evaluation of the work is conducted by the university's evaluation center. This service is financed by funds from part of a three-year grant made to the university for the work of the Institute by the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation of Pittsburgh. Two scales have been developed especially for this program: one an "attitudes scale" and, the other, a "participation scale." Both scales are given to incoming freshmen, and again at the end of the sophomore and senior years. Interesting trends have been recorded over the past two years, the period during which the new scales have been used, between those students who had participated and those who had not, and between upper-classmen and freshmen and sophomores.

The program at Ohio Wesleyan now bears the name of its founder, who retired last year, The Ben A. Arneson Institute of Practical Politics. Although there are other programs similar to it in the United States, the Institute at Ohio

*(Concluded on page 266)*

# Campaign Techniques

William B. Rogers

IT has been said often enough to be almost axiomatic that a foreigner seeking the caricature of the United States might well focus his attention upon a presidential campaign. Within three short—nay, long—months much that is both implicit and explicit about *E. Pluribus Unum* reveals itself in a way which at least approximates an understanding of the American political system. Laid bare are the unity and diversity of its ethnic, religious, and sectional components; the complex economic-political structuring and functioning; the gap between the ideal and the practicable in most phases of American life; the visible and invisible power structure, and lastly the tremendous impact of twentieth century technology upon political and economic institutions.

As is true in many phases of contemporary life, improved communication and transportation techniques have done little to simplify the basic campaign processes. What has been accomplished, however, has been the adaptation of our political processes to a broadened and more receptive, if not reflective, electorate. Indications are that the campaigner who feels he can rely on television and quick transportation to ease his pre-election burden is merely whistling in the dark. The experience of 1952 suggests a substantial increase in the number and complexity of the demands made upon the candidate. The question basically becomes one of determining what is curricular and what extra-curricular and then indulging in both (hopefully not beyond the stress point which will vary with the individual candidate).

The national committees have long been at work setting up both the temporary and permanent organizations which manage the campaigns of those "anointed" in the national conventions which terminate later this year. Thus the oft repeated objection to the lengthy and exhaustive campaigns of the past will be somewhat relieved,

though many would still advocate a narrower mean between approximately two and a half months and the British practice of 17 days. Not only are the men exhausted, but the ideas undergo an erosion which often leaves both candidate and *vox populi* either numb or sterile, as well as subjugating the "public business" to a state of suspended animation.

Since the Republican candidate's failure in 1952 to validate statistically the "ride-in-on-the-coattails" philosophy, there appears to be evidence of better coordination contemplated between the national campaign and state and local campaigns. This is particularly important in terms of the importance of either party controlling the new Congress regardless of the "Derby winner." Since 1932 and the adoption of the Farley system, the parties have established basically centralized control of the campaign organization with decentralized operations to meet state and local peculiarities. The party campaign committees in both houses of Congress have long been at work compiling the daily voting and attendance records of all rival party members. A "clipping" record is kept of speeches made, insertions in the *Congressional Record*, and activities on the road, all of which prove invaluable to the candidate be he incumbent or new-born in the spring primaries. The National Committees of both parties have allocated over \$7 million for the purpose of congressional campaigns. Hence, an idea of the importance attached to this aspect of campaigning is not unrecognizable. The endorsement by the presidential candidate of members of his party standing for Congress as well as the other state and local offices continues to be a necessary and frequently important part of the campaign. A candidate is often called upon to bundle with strange bedfellows in this process, but failure to do so has undone a number of worthy campaigns, not least of which was the classic Charles E. Hughes-Hiram Johnson misadventure in 1916.

Early in the campaign certain basic decisions need to be made which will provide a focus for the campaign. In order to reach these decisions, crucial questions must be intelligently faced and answers sought. These questions involve

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the identification of the voter to be appealed to, the nature of the appeal, and the techniques for getting the voter to recognize and accept the appeal. With these questions in mind one can construct a rationale and approach both with respect to the role the candidate will play and the issues which will vie for a prominent place in the minds of a large number of voters.

The relative importance of issues and/or the personality of the campaigner is still somewhat problematical, particularly with respect to the part the former plays in the decision of the voter. It may well be that the successful campaigner like the "perfect President" is remembered because of the impact of his personality, and issues ride the caboose if they are on the "campaign limited" at all.<sup>1</sup> With the resultant possibility of the emergence of a Charismatic leader this is not an enticing prospect for the Republic. Another prospect, appreciably less disquieting, is the Lazarfeld interpretation of voting as an expression of the voter's "conformance to his basic sociological environment."<sup>2</sup> More recent studies show some evidence of independent or undecided voters being swayed in the final analysis by the issues of the campaign.<sup>3</sup>

The role the candidate will play is one of the most important components of successful technique and depends on the individual and the situation at hand. Traditionally the role has conformed to certain criteria, although these are all debatable, and emerges as nearly as possible as the prototype of the electorate appealed to (at least 266 electoral ballots worth). The candidate's demeanor must suggest his party's approach to public questions; he must be, in fancy if not in fact, the personification of these policies.

For success, generally speaking, he should be wary of being too intellectual, although it is refreshing to have the former Governor of Illinois flirting with this siren. Cynicism and subtlety have a way of boomeranging. Some candidates find success with the "buck shot" approach of appealing to everyone using every means, while others use the "rifle shot" approach of definite techniques for selected groups. Many candidates who early espouse "specificity" later get "general" fever, and the definite stands on specific issues are fewer and farther between.

A delicate balance exists as to the number of points which should be emphasized in a campaign. Too few presents a danger of attrition for various reasons, leaving a captain without a ship; too many creates confusion. In most election years one may well expect a central issue to be the candidate's approach to and understanding of problems of domestic and world leadership. This is to be measured either on the basis of past performance or in anticipation of the chief executive potential.

How active should the candidate be? It would seem that he, even if President, has an obligation to show himself to the people. There is also the obligation to the state and local political leaders previously mentioned. There are all kinds of individual variations and considerations here although it would seem that the "front porch" approach without the 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue address is no longer feasible.

Television has already had an impact on the techniques of presidential campaigns, and 1956 should witness both progression and retrogression. It has an equalizing tendency and can make a heretofore unknown as much a household word as Bab-o. However, one must agree with John Steinbeck that it is "different to buy Rice Krispies than to vote," although his tongue-in-check reminder of the danger that they may buy the campaigner and "vote for the cereal" seems more entertaining than appertaining.<sup>4</sup> Unquestionably, with the advertising agencies doing the designing and with the funds available, if not completely procured, it will be a big factor and subject to abuses. The \$30,000,000 spent in 1952 seems surely to be topped. The two parties early began to contract for captive-audience time (e.g. after the high Hooper rating programs) much of which runs above \$50,000 per half-hour. It is arguable and depends greatly on the candidates themselves whether it is better to have the personal "welcome to my living room" approach or the televised rally that might hopefully transmit some of the first-hand enthusiasm and emotion of the live audience. Mr. Montgomery tells us that we need not fear an "acting" performance, e.g. coaching, direction, and technical aids merely enable a candidate to be himself better. A "phony" is quickly identified. "The television camera does not give the candidate with showmanship an unfair advantage. It simply gives honesty a fair chance. In the future it will prevent politicians from using the old whistle stop

<sup>1</sup> Eugene Burdick. "The Perfect President." *This Week*, New York Herald Tribune. January 1, 1956.

<sup>2</sup> Paul Lazarfeld, B. Berelson, and H. Gaudet. *The People's Choice*. New York: Duell, Sloane and Pearce, 1948.

<sup>3</sup> *American Political Science Review*. 46: 359-385; 1953.

<sup>4</sup> *Saturday Review*. March 31, 1956.

trick of tailoring promises to fit the district. Television lays it on the line from coast to coast."<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand Jack Gould eloquently shouts that we must needs forget technique and see "public figures as God rather than TV made them. . . . The test for enlightened political use of TV must always be what's best for the country, not what's best for the audience. . . ."<sup>6</sup>

The public in 1952 went out of its way to watch the national conventions as well as the ensuing campaigns. Some 53 percent of the population observed programs on the campaign.<sup>7</sup> Studies indicate that TV was rated as the most informative media though not then available to a majority of the people. Subsequent sales of television sets have boomed since 1952, and the present figures of set owners are impressive.

Real problems exist with respect to Section 315 of the Communications Act which requires that if a candidate for political office is granted air time, every other candidate for that office must be given equal time—vegetarians et al.<sup>8</sup>

As was mentioned earlier, although TV is not by definition a short cut, it costs heavily, its use for one purpose and spot will free the candidate only to meet several more obligations rather than provide relaxation and contemplation time. The other mass media representatives are still much in evidence. The radio, though it lacks the closer relationship between speaker and audience, still serves much of the nation

particularly the South, and the press whether "unipartyal" or "bipartyal" is still a potent informative media. More care than ever will undoubtedly be taken to maintain good press relations. The press, both as mold and reflector of public opinion, must still be assigned a significant role in presenting issues and aiding candidates in their efforts to make a little news.

We will witness again character assassination on both sides, and the campaigns will still circumvent the Hatch Act and spend much too much money. Many of the "Citizens for ——" committees have long been at work. One will expect to find the tried and true, real and fanciful symbols of the past, both personal and national, trotted out for review as well as the addition of a few more which will in later years be traced to 1956 with mingled emotions. Rallies, face-to-face contacts, and opportunities for question-and-answer sessions should continue as valid techniques.

All in all, campaign techniques have not been basically altered. There remains a reluctance not entirely nostalgic to discard the old, and hence while we innovate we also rejuvenate as well as conserve. What remains then is another manifestation of the complexity and pace of the American experiment. We can agree with D. W. Brogan that American political campaigning still has an "air of amateurism" about it.<sup>9</sup> But this may seem to many to be more in the nature of a halo and certainly in keeping with the philosophy of "all's well that ends well" which manifests itself in much contemporary man-on-the-street thinking. Campaigns will not be materially shorter, clearer, cheaper, nor more pertinent or expressive of real issues until the American people so mandate.

<sup>9</sup> D. W. Brogan, *Politics in America*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954. p. 260.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Montgomery, "TV Can't Fool the Voter." *This Week*, October 16, 1955. p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> "TV Techniques on the Political Stage." *New York Times Magazine*, April 25, 1954.

<sup>7</sup> Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren Miller. "Television and the Election." *Scientific American*, 1953. p. 188.

<sup>8</sup> See C. A. Siepman. "TV and the '56 Campaign." *The Nation*, March 17, 1956. p. 218-220.

## PREPARING FOR POLITICS

(Continued from page 263)

Wesleyan is a pioneer. Its future success in part depends on its continued support from alumni, administration, friends and from the enthusiastic response of the students. It also depends on an awareness that voting is not enough but that an understanding of the practical aspects of our political system and a knowledge of how to participate by an enlightened citizen will assure the Ohio Wesleyan graduate and all his fellow

Americans of a sound government that will continue better to provide and protect his or her right to be a doctor, a merchant, a homemaker, to have a family and belong to a church.

Schools of higher learning can never ignore this responsibility to society. It is an obligation much discussed but too often misplaced—an obligation Ohio Wesleyan University has done something about.



# Recent Supreme Court Decisions: The Electoral College

Isidore Starr

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ON NOVEMBER 6, 1956, more than sixty million Americans will go to the polls to vote for the President and the Vice-President of the United States. That is, the great majority of these men and women *will think* that they are voting directly for our next Chief Executive and his running mate. However, those who still remember their high school history and college government courses will know that they are balloting only for Presidential Electors whose sole Constitutional duty is to elect a President and Vice-President. Perhaps a few voters will also recollect that it is still possible for a presidential candidate to garner a majority or a plurality of the popular vote (as did Tilden in 1876 and Cleveland in 1888), and to lose the election to their opponents (Hayes and Benjamin Harrison), who had the good fortune to win a majority of the electoral vote.

In his excellent article, "Electing a President," in the December, 1955, issue of *Social Education*, Professor Henry J. Abraham illuminates the origin and discusses the vagaries of our Electoral College. He shows that this system began with the hope that men of discernment and judgment would vote independently for the best men. However, with the emergence of political parties the electors gradually became "party agents." And with the passage of time the electors were disparagingly referred to as "presidential push-buttons" and "rubber stamps" of the popular vote.

Perhaps one of the most intriguing problems in any study of this aspect of our government is that of the "independence" of the electors. Can

electors today revert to the original intent of the Founding Fathers and use their discretion regardless of party loyalty? Or, are they bound by custom to follow the party's choice?

## THE ALABAMA ELECTORAL PLEDGE

In 1948 Alabama's Democratic Party Electors refused to vote for Truman, the nominee of the Democratic National Convention. To preclude a recurrence of such "party unreliability," the State Democratic Party adopted a pledge requirement for all electors. Acting under an Alabama Law which authorized a political party to choose its nominees for electors in a party primary and to fix the qualifications for such candidates, the Executive Committee of the State Democratic Party required all aspirants for the office of Presidential Elector to take the following pledge:

I do further pledge myself to aid and support the nominees of the National Convention of the Democratic Party for President and Vice-President of the United States.

Edmund Blair, a Democratic candidate for Presidential Elector in the Democratic Primary of May 6, 1952, refused to take the pledge and was not certified. He thereupon sought a writ of mandamus requiring the Chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee of Alabama to certify his candidacy.

Mr. Blair contended that the pledge was unconstitutional since it restricted the freedom of a federal elector to vote in the Electoral College for his choice of President. The Twelfth Amendment, he argued, does not permit states to interfere with the decisions of electors. According to our Constitution, the states appoint electors who vote for our Chief Executive. It was the intention of the Founders, he asserted, that electors should exercise their judgment. Hence a pledge interferes with the performance of a constitutional duty to select a President and Vice-President according to the independent convictions of the elector. Since the primary election in Alabama is the real election, the vote of a

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Dr. Starr teaches social studies in Brooklyn (N.Y.) Technical High School. For the past two years he has served on the Executive Board of *Social Education*, and for the past six years he has contributed a continuing series of reviews of recent significant Supreme Court decisions. The current review of the decision dealing with the Electoral College will be especially interesting to social studies teachers.

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federal official is being prescribed by a party pledge.

#### THE MAJORITY OPINION

In *Ray, Chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee of Alabama v. Blair*, 343 U.S. 214 (1952), the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the pledge. Justice Reed wrote the majority opinion, with which Justices Jackson and Douglas disagreed. Justices Black and Frankfurter did not take part in the disposition of the case.

It is an interesting thing that, although the Supreme Court of Alabama granted a preeminent writ of mandamus requiring the certification of Mr. Blair as an elector, the Supreme Court of the United States overruled that decision. Justice Reed, in speaking for the majority, pointed out that Alabama's highest court had misinterpreted the present role of the Electoral College. In the first place, he writes, the electors are not federal officials.

The presidential electors exercise a federal function in balloting for President and Vice-President but they are not federal officers or agents any more than the state elector who votes for congressmen. They act by authority of the state that in turn receives its authority from the Federal Constitution.

Is there anything in the Constitution that forbids such a pledge? Justice Reed answers:

Neither the language of Art. II, Sec. 1, nor that of the Twelfth Amendment forbids a party to require from candidates in its primary a pledge of political conformity with the aims of the party. Unless such a requirement is implicit, certainly neither provision of the Constitution requires a state political party, affiliated with a national party through acceptance of the national call to send state delegates to the national convention, to accept persons as candidates who refuse to agree to abide by the party's requirement.

The majority opinion finds no merit in the argument that the Twelfth Amendment demands absolute freedom for the elector to vote his own choice, uninhibited by a pledge. It concludes that the history of the Electoral College points in the opposite direction.

It is true that the Amendment says the electors shall vote by ballot. But it is also true that the Amendment does not prohibit an elector's announcing his choice beforehand, pledging himself. The suggestion that in the early elections candidates for electors—contemporaries of the Founders—would have hesitated, because of constitutional limitations, to pledge themselves to support party nominees in the event of their selection as electors is impossible to accept. History teaches that the electors were expected to support the party nominees. Experts in the history of government recognize the long-standing practice. Indeed, more than twenty states do not print

the names of the candidates for electors on the general election ballot. Instead, in one form or another, they allow a vote for the presidential candidate of the national conventions to be counted as a vote for his party's nominees for the electoral college. This long-continued practical interpretation of the constitutional propriety of an implied or oral pledge of his ballot by a candidate for elector as to his vote in the electoral college weighs heavily in considering the constitutionality of a pledge, such as the one here required, in the primary.

The majority opinion stresses the necessity for effective party government in a democracy. It asserts that pledges of the type in question are reasonably related to the legitimate legislative objective of protecting the political party, its philosophy, and its leadership from intruders with adverse political principles and from candidates who intend to exert a disruptive influence. Since the states have the right to appoint electors in such a manner as they choose, they have the authority to permit political parties to exact reasonable pledges from those who voluntarily seek that office. For a candidacy in a primary is a voluntary act of an applicant, and if he does not wish to comply with the rules of the party, he does not have the right to run. It is possible for political parties to leave their electors to their own choice, and it is to these parties that independent candidates for elector can turn.

#### THE DISSENTING OPINION

The dissent of the late Justice Jackson, in which Justice Douglas concurred, is sharp, sarcastic, and scintillating. He begins with the melancholy conclusion that the original plan of the Founders had badly misfired.

No one faithful to our history can deny that the plan originally contemplated . . . that electors would be free agents, to exercise an independent and nonpartisan judgment as to the men best qualified for the Nation's highest offices. Certainly under that plan no state law could control the elector in performance of his federal duty, any more than it could a United States Senator who also is chosen by, and represents, the State.

This arrangement miscarried. Electors, although often personally eminent, independent, and respectable, officially became voluntary party lackeys and intellectual nonentities to whose memory we might justly paraphrase a tuneful satire:

They always voted at their Party's call  
And never thought of thinking for themselves at all.

As an institution the Electoral College suffered atrophy almost indistinguishable from *rigor mortis*.

Despite this unfortunate turn of events, states the Justice, the pledging of electors is unconstitutional because it contravenes the spirit of the

original plan that electors should be free agents. In performing their federal function the electors ought to be free of any requirements that they pledge their votes to certain candidates. It is true, of course, that Alabama was simply making a legal obligation out of what had become a voluntary general practice, but the Supreme Court has no right to sanction pledges which violate the Constitution. Powers and discretions granted to federal officials by the Federal Constitution cannot be forfeited by the Court simply because of their disuse.

The majority opinion, warns Justice Jackson, has serious implications for those who favor free elections.

... What it [the majority opinion] is doing is to entrench the worst features of the system in constitutional law and to elevate the perversion of the forefathers' plan into a constitutional principle. This judicial overturn of the theory that has come down to us cannot plead the excuse that it is a practical remedy for the evils or weaknesses of the system.

The Court is sanctioning a new instrument of power in the hands of any faction that can get control of the Democratic National Convention to make it sure of Alabama's electoral vote. When the party is in power this will likely be the administration faction and when not in power no one knows what group it will be. This device of prepledged and oath-bound electors imposes upon the party within the State an oath-bound regularity and loyalty to the controlling element in the national party. It centralizes party control and, instead of securing for the locality a share in the central management, it secures the central management in dominance of the local vote in the Electoral College. If we desire free elections, we should not add to the leverage over local party representatives always possessed by those who enjoy the prestige and dispense the patronage of a national administration. . . . Who will come to possess this weapon and to whose advantage it will prove in the long run I am not foresighted enough to predict. But party control entrenched by disfranchisement and exclusion of nonconforming party members is a means which to my mind cannot be justified by any end. In the interest of free government, we should foster the power and the will to be independent even on the part of those we may think to be independently wrong. . . .

It is not for me, as a judge, to pass upon the wisdom or righteousness of the political revolt this measure was designed to suppress. For me it is enough that, be it ever so benevolent and virtuous, the end cannot justify these means.

However, despite this stirring defense of the original role of the Electoral College, Justice Jackson views the system with scorn.

The demise of the whole electoral system would not impress me as a disaster. At its best it is a mystifying and distorting factor in presidential elections which may resolve a popular defeat into an electoral victory. At its worst it is open to local corruption and manipulation, once so flagrant as to threaten the stability of the coun-

try. To abolish it and substitute direct election of the President, so that every vote wherever cast would have equal weight in calculating the result, would seem to me a gain for simplicity and integrity of our governmental processes.

#### CONCLUSION

This decision by the Supreme Court simply highlights the problems raised by the Electoral College. Presidential election years often generate controversy as to ways and means of altering our method of choosing our Chief Executive. The year 1956 has been especially significant in this respect. Many proposals have been made and several are deserving of summary, since they will continue to be supported by students of the subject, political figures, and by a citizenry alert to the archaic character and serious weaknesses of the present system.

On May 27, 1956, the Senate voted down five attempts to make the Electoral College more responsive to the popular vote.<sup>1</sup> These were:

1. *The Daniel Amendment.* This provided for two alternative methods of casting electoral votes. States could allocate their electoral votes to the three top candidates on a basis proportionate to their share of the popular vote. Or, if they wished, the states could choose their electors in the same manner as they elected their Senators and Representatives. That is, two electors would be chosen at large and the remainder would be elected by a majority vote in each Congressional district.

2. *The Langer Amendment.* This proposal abolishes the Electoral College and substitutes for it a nationwide primary to choose presidential candidates. After this primary there would be the regular November election in which the President would be chosen by a direct popular vote of a simple majority of the people.

3. *The Lehman Amendment.* This simplifies the Langer proposal by calling for the direct popular election of the President.

4. *The Humphrey Amendment.* According to this plan, each state would be given two electoral votes on the basis of its popular majority for President, while the remaining 435 national electoral total would be divided in proportion to the popular vote.

5. *The Case Amendment.* Here we have the novel idea of relating the electoral vote of each state to the percentage of its eligible voters who went to the polls in the previous election.

These all came to naught. However, the homage that we pay to old institutions must eventually give way to the requirements of a changing society. Perhaps the apathy of adults will be shattered eventually by a generation whose classroom indignation at an antiquated elective system will be carried forward into the political forum.

<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of these five proposals, see *The New York Times*, March 28, 1956, 1:2; also, Arthur Krock's column "In the Nation," March 29, 1956, p. 26.

# Television, the 1956 Election, and the Classroom

Leonard W. Ingraham

IN THE 1956 election campaign, television, which has already changed the entire course of the conduct of election campaigns, will again play a major role. Social studies teachers, whose responsibility it is to provide the "understandings" involved in the election of a President, must now include television as a resource in the teaching of this vital area of citizenship education.

In the homes of more than 70 percent of our citizenry, more than 60 million people may be watching television programs on a single evening over the 449 television stations throughout the nation. Our students will undoubtedly be among these viewers. Both the political parties and their candidates know these facts. They have contracted for many of the evening hours to present their candidates and their views, and will, indeed, be the sponsors of many programs. Already both the large networks and many individual stations have made elaborate plans to follow the presidential campaigns from the conventions through the election night itself. News programs, cavalcades of reporters, commentators, forums and debates may very likely be either the contributions of the networks, as public services, or presentations sponsored by advertising clients.

Recent studies have shown that many people with less than high school education are acquiring much of their knowledge of current affairs from television. During the election campaign the day-by-day presentation of the televised candidates or their spokesmen, the news reports, and the analyses of campaign issues—all of these will require careful listening and viewing to sift fact from opinion. Students and adults alike, must approach television programs

with the same critical standards that they use for newspapers, magazines and books.

If the teachers and their students are to get the information that will lead to an understanding of basic issues of the election, campaign practices, election methods, and voting, it will be necessary for the teacher to act as a guide. In this role, the teacher must be able to advise his students with regard to the selection of programs. He must also be qualified to lead them to the proper evaluation of what they have seen and heard. He will be in a position to direct their attention to a variety of programs, and to the pros and cons of the subjects discussed by the candidates.

With regard to presidential campaign schedules, teachers and students may consult local TV station managers, newspaper listings, and TV magazines. Two major commercial networks have already published free handbooks to be used in conjunction with TV viewing during the coming campaign and election. The CBS Guide is entitled "The 1956 Presidential Election," Volume I, "Primaries and Conventions"; Volume II, "The Campaign and Election." To obtain, write to The Columbia Broadcasting System, 485 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York. The NBC publication is called, "N. B. C. Student Guide to the Election," and can be obtained by addressing requests to National Broadcasting Company, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, New York.

In addition, a completely new service will be made available by the National Educational Television Network (NET), which is comprised of the 21 educational television stations now in operation throughout the nation.<sup>1</sup> They will

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The author of this article is Chairman of the Television Committee of the National Council for the Social Studies. He prepared this article for *Social Education* in collaboration with committee members, Dr. Jack Entin and Dr. Philip Groisser.

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<sup>1</sup> All three of these series will be made available to the entire NET network, including these stations: KCTS-TV, Seattle; KETC, St. Louis; KQED, San Francisco; KRMA-TV, Denver; KUTH, Houston, Texas; KUON-TV, Lincoln, Nebraska; WCET, Cincinnati; WGBH-TV, Boston; WHA-TV, Madison, Wisconsin; WILL-TV, Urbana, Illinois; WKAR-TV, East Lansing, Michigan; WOSU-TV, Columbus, Ohio; WQED, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; WBIQ, Bir-

present three television series depicting presidential campaign politics. The first, "Hats In the Ring," consists of 10 programs featuring pictures and flashbacks of great men and dramatic moments of past political conventions. Professor Malcolm Moos of Johns Hopkins provides the commentary. The second in this series, "Prelude to the Presidency," provides seven programs, offering a view and analysis of outstanding 1956 political figures by the editor of *Newsweek* magazine and the president of the American Political Science Association. A third, in this series is titled, "American Politics," a fifteen-program, college-level telecourse prepared by Thomas H. Eliot, Chairman of the Political Science Department of Washington University.

To compensate for the areas in which no educational television station is operating at present, the three series of programs can be utilized in the following ways: a local educational institution can sponsor showings of any programs of all three series over a local commercial television station; teachers can obtain any of the programs from "Hats In the Ring" for audio-visual use in the classroom. For information about either of these services, write to Educational Television and Radio Center, 1610 Washtenaw Avenue, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

However, classroom teachers must face reality in the case of television as a teaching tool, for in most schools TV sets in the classroom are still a fond dream. Nevertheless, some sets will be available and there will be occasions when these sets can be brought into the classroom, or instances where there are auditorium sets that can be utilized for large groups of students. For out-of-school viewing, provision should be made for listings of presidential TV election campaign programs in each classroom, on chalkboards or tackboards.

During the campaign, from September to November 1956, the teacher will be able to call upon his students for the following:

*Recounts of convention events*, followed by subjective observations. "What obvious maneuvers were observed?" "What behind-the-scenes actions made it difficult to understand the behavior on the convention floor?" "How did the TV analyst aid in clarifying the situation?" "Was the commentator correct?"

*Home viewing assignments.* These must be

mingham, Alabama; WTTW, Chicago; WTVS-TV, Detroit, Michigan; WUNC-TV, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; KETA-TV, Oklahoma City; WTHS-TV, Miami; WKNO-TV, Memphis, Tennessee; WIIQ, Monford, Alabama.

made sufficiently in advance of a TV election campaign program to insure viewing by a large portion of the students.

*Follow-up of televised aspects of the presidential campaign.*

- (a) Classroom discussions and evaluation of television campaign methods.
- (b) Pupil impressions of campaign personalities as revealed on TV.
- (c) Analyses of the role of leading candidates in the election as compared to other party workers.
- (d) Discussion of the relative role of TV as a "convincer" as compared to other media of communication.
- (e) Factual summaries of events and speeches of TV, through student reports or committees.
- (f) Comparison of TV time used by major parties.
- (g) Analysis of types and effectiveness of paid political advertisements.
- (h) Panels, forums, debates, and assembly programs in which issues and merits of candidates are discussed.
- (i) Student polls on the election or on the influence of TV in helping to influence their judgment.
- (j) Comparison of views of TV commentators and news analysts.
- (k) Comparison of student straw votes with national election returns.
- (l) Inviting representatives of political parties to a classroom or assembly in a TV Quiz format, with students quizzing local representatives of the major parties.
- (m) Dramatizations of conventions, whistle-stop campaigning, or political meetings.
- (n) Presidential "battle pages," posters, bulletin boards, cartoons, maps of electoral voting, charts, etc.
- (o) Post-election evaluations and critiques of the results.
- (p) Research, reports on meaning and function of the Electoral College in the presidential campaign.

One of the most widely accepted advantages of television in education has been its potential for recording on-the-spot history. In the present campaign, social studies teachers can exploit this feature to the fullest. We can conduct lessons in citizenship which have never before been possible. Television can construct an effective bridge connecting the pupil, the public, and the Presidency.



# Books About the Presidency

C. Edwin Linville

THE American Presidency has grown immensely in importance in this atomic age, and social studies teachers will find it possible to generate sincere interest in a presidential election among even the hardened sports-page and comic-book set. This year there is available a significant group of studies that can provide valuable assistance in widening and exploiting this interest.

Edward S. Corwin of Princeton, veteran authority on the Presidency has written, together with Lewis A. Koenig of New York University, a new evaluation, *The Presidency Today* (New York University Press, 1956. 138 p. \$3.00). Scholarly, tightly written, it begins by placing the Presidency in historical perspective, starting with the influence of Montesquieu, Locke, and Blackstone on the thinking of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention, and continuing with an analysis of the changing role of the Executive as the nation itself grew and changed.

Washington established the office, and Jefferson added to it the role of party leader. Although Jefferson was committed to the theory of legislative supremacy, he dominated the Congress by his personal influence over his party. Jefferson's successors were not such able party leaders, and the relative importance of the Presidency declined until Andrew Jackson took office. The dynamic, forceful Jackson greatly increased the influence of the presidential office, raising it to a prominence it did not reach again until Abraham Lincoln moved into the White House. Lincoln "regarded Congress as a more or less necessary nuisance and the Cabinet as a usually unnecessary one." He brought the Presidency into new importance by his use of the war power. Johnson tried to maintain this increased

prestige and power for the Presidency and barely escaped removal. Congress again dominated the government until the turn of the century. After 1900 Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson both added new lustre to the office.

Corwin and Koenig show how presidential power over foreign policy has steadily increased. They also point out that the twentieth century has made the President's leadership "the concomitant of the country's industrial maturation." Congress today overrepresents conservative rural areas. The Presidency can compensate by serving large urban interests and national, racial, and labor groups. The authors emphasize the fact that the President and the Vice-President are the only elected representatives of the entire nation. To be effective the President must get the true feeling of the national temper and then use effectively all of the media available—the press, radio, and television—to inform and mobilize public opinion.

To Corwin and Koenig the new organization of the President's work is interesting, but not too important. They feel that the chief shortcoming of the Presidency is seen in terms of the relation between the executive and Congress. They suggest a new kind of Cabinet, composed of legislative leaders and cabinet officers, to advise and assist the President. Much has been said of the increased power that the mass media have added to the Presidency; they suggest that the President may become the prisoner of the media, which he may or may not be able to use effectively.

In their consideration of the election process, the authors are conservative. They recommend only one change: that when the vote goes from the Electoral College to the House of Representatives, it should be cast by individuals rather than by states. They also strongly support the current suggestion that the role of the Vice-President be even further expanded and that he be given increased staff facilities and an official residence.

Clinton W. Rossiter in *The American Presidency* (Harcourt, Brace and Company. 175 p.

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This brief report of recent books on the Presidency was prepared by the Chairman of the Social Studies Department of Midwood (New York) High School. Mr. Linville is the author of a pamphlet that Oxford Book Company will publish this fall with the title of *The Presidency*.

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\$2.95), has written the most important of the recent books on the Presidency. This is a book not only for teachers but for able pupils and the general public. It is written with vivid and effective literary skill, combined with sound scholarship, and stimulating judgments. It is eminently quotable and well stocked with the kind of arresting statements that can arouse interest and provoke thought in a classroom. He vividly describes the functions of the Presidency: Chief of State; the "one-man distillation of the American people"; Chief Executive of an ever-more-complex national government; Chief Diplomat; maker of American foreign policy; Commander-in-Chief in an age of total war; Chief legislator. These are his great constitutional roles. Today he is also Chief of his party, the Voice of the People, Protector of the Peace, Manager of Prosperity, and Chief of a Coalition of Free Nations. All these tasks are inextricably intermingled and each reinforces the effectiveness of the others.

Professor Rossiter, having examined the vast powers of the office, then describes its restraints. The President is not only limited by Congress, the courts, and public opinion, but by the "natural obstinacies" of the bureaucracy, by his own party—which can often be harder to move than the opposition—by the free enterprise system, including an enterpriser like John L. Lewis, and by the very allies that make him the leader of the free world.

Rossiter's judgments of American Presidents are arresting and provocative: Washington's conduct was invariably constitutional, his most notable contribution to the Presidency; Jefferson was a great man, but probably not a great President; Jackson's mistakes were many, but he was a giant in his influence on our system of government; Lincoln was a "democrat as well as a 'dictator'"; T. Roosevelt was a "brilliant molder of public opinion." For Wilson he has words of the highest praise. His comparative rating of all the presidents before F. D. Roosevelt is something every teacher of American history should appraise.

The most valuable and provocative portions of Rossiter's book contain his analysis of the modern Presidency. Unlike Corwin he feels that the new dimensions added to the job since 1933

are extremely significant. The development of the press conference, the Executive Office, the National Security Council, have been of "momentous constitutional significance." His evaluation of F. D. Roosevelt, of Truman, and of Eisenhower cannot fail to interest every student of American history.

With only these two volumes, a unit on the Presidency, very suitable in an election year, will be solidly backed with resource material. But there is much more. Sidney Hyman's *The American President* (Harper and Brothers, 1954, 342 p. \$4.00) makes interesting further reading. Hyman, a scholar who has been making a career of politics and government, is especially helpful when he discusses the political factors that enter into the selection of a President. He explains the unwritten "laws of natural selection" that probably make no more than a hundred men able to meet the requirements for nomination.

Both of Samuel Lubell's books, *The Future of American Politics* and his recent *Revolt of the Moderates* (Harper and Brothers, 1956, \$3.75), present stimulating analyses of the sociology behind American voting, and the effects of social, class, religious affiliation, and national origins upon voting patterns.

*Television and Presidential Politics* by Charles A. H. Thompson (Brookings Institution, 1956, \$1.50) carefully analyzes the impact of television on the election of 1952.

We all hope that more serious attention will be given to the choice of Vice-Presidential candidates in future years. The illness of President Eisenhower has spotlighted attention on the Vice-Presidency. A pamphlet by Irving G. Williams, *The American Vice-Presidency* (1954), is available from Random House. Professor Williams traces completely and in an interesting fashion the changing importance of the Vice-Presidency. A pictorial document of an outstanding Edward R. Murrow broadcast on the Vice-Presidency is available from CBS, *The Vice-Presidency: the Great American Lottery*.

The amount and quality of material available this fall on the American Presidency is in keeping with the growth of the office in strength and prestige. As Professor Rossiter asserts, "the strength of the Presidency is a measure of the strength of the America in which we now live."

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"To my mind there is nothing more worthy of reverence and obedience, and nothing more sacred, than the authority of the freely chosen magistrate of a great and free people. . . ."  
JOHN BRIGHT, in Clinton Rossiter, *The American Presidency*.

# The Vice-Presidency: Fifth Wheel Or Vital Spare?

Phillips Bradley

A GENERATION or so ago, the Vice-Presidency was often called "the fifth wheel of the coach." Today, it often is spoken of as "just a heart beat away from the White House." Three times in this century, Vice-Presidents have succeeded to the office of President. On two other occasions, the degree of "inability" of the President to act has focused intense attention on the position and powers of the Vice-President.

President Wilson's protracted illness induced considerable Congressional and an almost openly partisan effort to find a formula for declaring the Presidential office vacant. President Eisenhower's first illness highlighted again the fact that there may arise situations in which succession can become a vital issue. It is interesting to note, too, that illness is today not the only consideration. The hazards of atomic war—even the possibility of an enemy capture of the President—are being seriously discussed in Washington, perhaps as a result of the immediate illness issue.

## THE VICE-PRESIDENT'S POLITICAL ROLE

Before analyzing the problem of succession, it may be useful to review briefly some aspects of the Vice-President's position, political and functional. Politically, the office was perhaps more significant in the minds of the Framers than it has evolved in practice. The theory of the constitutional formula for selection was that the second most qualified person for the Presidency would be selected by the Electoral College. The Jefferson-Burr rivalry of 1800 dramatized the essentially political character of both offices and

focused Congressional and national attention on the selection process.

The rise of national parties and the shift from Congressional caucuses to national conventions in the 1830's modified the political role of the Vice-Presidency still further. As attention became increasingly concentrated on selecting the party candidate for President, the choice of a running mate often became little more than an afterthought. "Balancing the ticket"—in regional or party-faction terms—emerged as a convenient rationalization of the party bosses' relative inattention to the significance of the office itself. On the whole, the nation has been fortunate in the quality of its Vice-Presidents who have been selected by the accidents of nomination and succeeded by the incidence of mortality in the White House.

## THE VICE-PRESIDENT'S FUNCTIONAL ROLE

Functionally, the Vice-Presidency has, in a sense, proved an anomaly. Selected as a putative successor to an executive role, the Vice-President was assigned a legislative role. Historically, his legislative functions have been paramount, indeed almost preclusive. The Senate has been jealous of any move from the White House to integrate the Vice-President into the executive "family."

More than one President has publicly announced (for instance, Harding) or privately sought to utilize his Vice-President's services as an unofficial member of the Cabinet or in other executive activities. Not until President Eisenhower's administration has a dual role for the Vice-President been successfully worked out in practice. The Senate has, until very recently, resisted—both openly and behind the scenes—the idea that the Vice-President could (or should) perform any explicit executive functions.

The Vice-President's traditional legislative role has been, from the beginning, considered to be impartial rather than partisan. Opportunities to break a tie vote—when his political allegiance can come into play—have been rare.

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Unlike the Speaker of the House of Representatives, especially before the "revolution of 1910," no Vice-President has, moreover, expressed his party's viewpoints, or sought to exert its influence, in the legislative process. His legislative function has been detached from the legislative struggle, his position almost divorced from the administration's policy-formulation or advocacy. Mr. Throttlebottom in "Of Thee I Sing" may have been intended as a caricature, but the portrayal was not without verisimilitude.

The Vice-President's divorce from any significant and continuing executive functions has been at least temporarily ended by President Eisenhower—without a revolt by the Senate. Long before his illness, the President had assigned a variety of functions (or, at least, activities) to Mr. Nixon. The act creating the National Security Council had already made a breach in the separation of the Vice-President from executive functions by providing for his membership. President Eisenhower, unlike many of his predecessors' unsuccessful efforts in the same direction, at once included Mr. Nixon regularly in Cabinet meetings. From the meager information which filters out from the inner sanctum of the White House (in any administration), it seems that Mr. Nixon is no mere spectator but an active participant in Cabinet discussions and decisions.

President Eisenhower has gone further. He has utilized Mr. Nixon as a personal representative in foreign relations on numerous occasions and around the world. The Vice-President's global trips have been closely related to particular policy-objectives and supplemented the activities of the Secretary of State. The President has, no doubt—although public notice is not, of course, available—integrated Mr. Nixon in other ways into domestic policy-implementation and political planning.

#### A DUAL ROLE?

This development of the office of Vice-President to include executive as well as legislative functions may presage its further broadening and strengthening. If Mr. Nixon has been frequently, and sometimes for extensive periods, absent from the Senate in performing a variety of executive functions, no significant Senatorial repercussions seem to have occurred. This growing duality in the Vice-President's actual roles may reflect a kind of break-through from the traditional "custom" of emphasizing only his legislative function. The office may currently be

undergoing substantive changes, with important implications for the future.

If current experience is suggestive of future possibilities, then it may not prove impracticable for future Vice-Presidents to play a dual role—successfully. Mr. Nixon has functioned effectively as presiding officer of the Senate under the two conditions of contemporary American politics: with his own party in power; as a member of the minority party. In neither situation have previous Senatorial criticisms of regular Vice-Presidential participation in Cabinet meetings emerged. The President's use of Mr. Nixon in other executive activities have similarly evoked no serious challenges of either authority or propriety. Although partisanship has been muted and party lines blurred, during the present administration, Mr. Nixon's conduct of both legislative and executive functions as Vice-President is not without significance for the future of the office.

How important is this portent? It is, of course, a truism that our politics are often largely determined by the personalities involved. One of President Eisenhower's major contributions to the Presidential office is his enhancement of its staff organization and functioning. With this objective, the utilization of his Vice-President's talents and services in new and hitherto untried directions seems almost logical, certainly not out of character. The absence of serious objection from Congress suggests that the implementation—of a more active—and dual—role for the Vice-President was well timed for popular as well as governmental acceptance.

Another combination of personalities in the Presidency and Vice-Presidency may react differently. A different Congress (especially Senate) may not accept so great an accretion of executive responsibility and authority for and by its presiding officer. The current precedent is, however, pregnant with possibilities of closer liaison between "the Hill" (Congress) and the White House. It also offers large opportunities for the future development of the Vice-President's executive functions.

#### THE QUESTION OF "SUCCESSION"

President Eisenhower's illnesses again drew the question of Presidential succession into public debate. Does the Vice-President "succeed" only to the powers and duties of the Presidency, or to the office itself?

The question confronted the country first on the death of President William Henry Harrison.

Considerable debate occurred in Congress and outside; a strong effort was made to limit the succession to powers and duties. Vice-President John Tyler refused to accept this status, as a sort of acting President, and won his point. He asserted and was finally accorded his right to use the title of President. (The story is interestingly told in H. W. Horwill's *The Usages of the American Constitution*; see also *Presidential Inability* noted below.)

The question of succession again arose for Vice-President Arthur after President Garfield's attempted assassination. The long period (80 days) of the fatal illness stimulated widespread discussion of the issue. During his term President Arthur requested Congressional action on the many issues involved, without success. President Wilson's longer illness again created many problems. No Congressional action resulted. (See House document above.)

The Presidential Succession Acts of 1886 and 1947 determined succession beyond the Vice-President in case of death. They did not resolve the problem of "inability," with which we are again confronted.

#### THE QUESTION OF "INABILITY"

President Eisenhower's illnesses have thrown the question into sharp relief. The almost intolerable physical burden of the Presidency has often been noted by its incumbents. Improvements in staff support for the President have been numerous during the past 20 years. The most recent proposal has been to create a new post: Administrative Vice-President. Although not approved by the present Administration, it was suggested by a former President, Mr. Hoover. A Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Government Operations held hearings on the proposal. It concluded that no further legislation was necessary to authorize the President to delegate his non-constitutionally-required duties to subordinate officers (see 84th Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Report No. 1960; also Hearing by the Subcommittee, January 16, 24, 25, 1956).

If the burdens of the office cannot be significantly reduced, the contingency of longer or shorter periods of "inability" must be recognized. How can the imperative of continuing full exercise of the powers and duties of the office be most effectively met?

Many proposals have been submitted in the current session of Congress and are being considered by the House Committee on the Ju-

diciary. Hearings on April 11 and 12, 1956, brought out new and often conflicting opinions, in addition to those contained in a significant series of memoranda by various constitutional authorities, requested by the Committee. (This document was issued January 31, 1956, as *Presidential Inability*, House Committee Print, 84th Congress, 2nd Session. Both the Hearings and this document are invaluable sources for background information and classroom activities.)

Only an outline of some of the approaches to the "inability" question is possible here. One major problem is whether a constitutional amendment is necessary to resolve the dilemma of determining inability. Here, both the Committee and the experts it called as witnesses split. The issue is, of course, which of several formulas for determining inability is selected.

Another major question is: Who (except the President when he is able to—and sometimes he may not be, physically or mentally) should determine inability? Among the more important formulas proposed to the Committee are: (1) by the Vice-President's initiative; (2) by action of Congress, with or without a reference of the question by it to the Supreme Court, and with or without a medical panel to pass on the medical issues; (3) by Cabinet action. All the proposals agree that action by Congress is essential in confirming determinations of succession to powers and duties by any other body. Some of the proposals envisage that the elected President may be able to resume his office. They agree therefore, that the Vice-President (or next in succession) succeeds to the duties and powers but not to the office of President. (This view is reminiscent of the Tyler-Congress dispute—but with different overtones today.)

Interest in the Vice-Presidency is almost certain to remain high. Whether Congress acts during this session (which seems unlikely as of June 28), the Vice-President's role in our scheme of government seems more important than ever before. The new executive functions allocated to Mr. Nixon by President Eisenhower have already enhanced the prestige and practical usefulness of the office. Although future events might modify the Vice-President's activities (and so his political status), precedents have been set which may well expand the recognized function of future Vice-Presidents. The crucial importance of the Vice-Presidency in relation to Presidential "inability" has become a major concern of Congress. Mr. Throttlebottom's role may have to be rewritten after 1953-57.



# Dramatizing the Election Campaign

David Nelson Alloway

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IN AN EFFORT to dramatize the forthcoming election of a President, the members of the Social Studies Department and the social studies students at Pennsbury High School in Yardley, Pennsylvania, developed the project we call the "full dress conference."

Pennsbury High School is located in lower Bucks County. The 60-square-mile area from which our students come is one of the rapidly growing areas of the country. It includes one borough with colonial roots, one wealthy suburban township, and an industrial township packed with the labor force of giant industries, among them steel, that have recently moved into the Delaware Valley. Here we have old established families, rising young executives, highly organized wage earners, farmers, country squires, a huge housing development—and a political organization in terms of local government that dates back to the days of William Penn, whose original homestead (Pennsbury), has contributed its name to our high school and to our whole public school system.

What project could we develop that would prove interesting and enlightening to a substantial proportion of the students and the adult citizens who lived in this varied and complex area? This was the problem we faced. Three of us, all social studies teachers, took the first step by selecting what we believed to be a representative group of students. We called the students to a meeting, placed the problem before them, and then withdrew, leaving the boys and girls to work out the answer.

The proposal they submitted was to hold a conference dealing with the major issues of the present election campaign. Their decision was based in large part upon the fact that some months earlier we had held a highly successful conference on the crisis in the Middle East. The

students proposed to build the conference around a panel consisting of high school students and two adults—an outstanding member of the Democratic Party and an equally outstanding member of the Republican Party. They agreed to organize the entire affair, leaving to the faculty advisors the job of setting the date, securing the experts, and making the technical arrangements.

From this point on the program rapidly took shape. We secured the services of Miss Genevieve Blatt, Secretary of the Pennsylvania's Democratic State Committee, who also held the elective office of State Secretary of Internal Affairs. For the Republican side we secured the services of Mr. Duane Lund, Executive Secretary to Senator Edward J. Thye of Minnesota. We then selected three able students to work with each of the principal members of the panel, giving us a total of eight panelists. The President of the Student Council served as moderator.

The conference, which was scheduled for two and one-half hours, was held in the auditorium, with an audience composed of our own students and student observers from most other schools in Bucks County. Most of the observers brought tape recorders with them, with the result that they were later able to reproduce every word of the entire program for some 50,000 students in the cooperating schools.

Because the auditorium was not large enough to hold all of our own students as well as the large number of guests, we arranged to broadcast the program into all the classrooms. Half of the student body listened to this closed-circuit broadcast for the first hour and a quarter. Then, after a ten-minute recess, these students exchanged places with the students who had been in the auditorium. In this way, every boy and girl heard the entire conference and watched half of it.

The conference itself opened with prepared statements by the two experts, who then proceeded to challenge each other on statements of fact and opinion. After about 30 minutes, by which time the two positions had become clear, the student members of the panel opened up

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This report of a project carried on in the Pennsbury Senior High School of Yardley, Pennsylvania, was prepared for *Social Education* by the Chairman of the Department of Social Studies.

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with questions directed at each other and at the experts.

Questions also came from the audience. Anyone who wanted to ask a question could do so by writing it on a blank especially prepared for this purpose. Student pages then carried these questions to a screening committee consisting of one faculty member and two students. The screening committee examined the questions for clarity and relevance, rejecting duplicates and consolidating others. During the conference the committee screened more than 900 questions, and sent about 50 to the platform for consideration by the panel.

Special arrangements also enabled the presiding officer to handle his part of the job with a minimum of confusion. An off-stage cueing system was used to signal him when one side or the other was beginning to monopolize the debate, and he would then ask the speaker to come to the point or, if necessary, invoke cloture by using his gavel.

The conference reached an adult audience as well as the students, for the entire conference was carried by a local radio station with power to

reach the entire county and into two adjoining states, and the local press covered the program with photographers and reporters.

The students carefully worked out the arrangements for the radio and press well in advance of the conference. Broadcasting equipment and controls were located in the orchestra pit, and the news reporters had a working table of their own. Student stenographers working in teams helped to settle arguments as to who said what as the conference proceeded. Even the art department found work to do, providing a large vari-colored map of the United States and other decorative devices to give a color setting.

Obviously, everyone involved in the conference had plenty of work to do. Actually, there was more work than we have here indicated, for the participants reassembled in the evening for a second conference which was attended by an almost entirely adult audience.

Students, parents, and citizens from all of the communities represented agreed that our conference on the issues of the 1956 election was an outstanding success, and we look forward to equally successful conferences in the future.

## Free and Inexpensive Teaching Aids

*Dorothy W. Furman, who prepared this list of free and inexpensive materials, is a member of the staff of the Bureau of Curriculum Research of the Board of Education of New York City. She is an active member of the National Council for the Social Studies, and is currently serving on the Advisory Board of Social Education.*

*NBC Student Guide for the National Conventions* is a booklet for junior and senior high school pupils. Background information, suggested activities, quiz questions and a bibliography. National Broadcasting Company Program Information, Room 780-H, Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20. Free.

*Participating in Presidential Elections* is a students' election handbook prepared by the Citizenship Education Project at Teachers' College, Columbia University. Contains factual information on presidential elections; suggested activities; related readings. Order from C. A. Gregory Company, 345 Calhoun St., Cincinnati, Ohio, or from Vroman's School Book Depository, 367 South Pasadena Ave., Pasadena 2, California. Single copy 50 cents. Packet of 25 copies \$8.75.

*The Social Studies Notebook.* The Spring

1956 and the Fall 1956 issues of this teacher-service leaflet contain useful materials for studying about the election. Suitable for upper elementary and secondary school pupils. Single copies of these two publications are free to teachers. Scott Foresman Co., 433 East Erie St., Chicago 11, Illinois.

*You Can Be the Life of the Party* is a pamphlet telling how each citizen can take an active part in politics and in elections. League of Women Voters, Washington, D. C. 10 cents.

*Election Civics* is a 32-page booklet containing full reports on the presidential election; party platforms; suggested materials and activities. American Education Publications, 11 West 42nd St., New York 36. 10 cents per copy.

*America Votes* is a special issue of *World Week* and *Senior and Junior Scholastic Magazines* for September 27, 1956. Underlying prin-

ciples of the electoral system; facts about the candidates; party platforms; study plans. *Schoolastic Magazines*, 33 West 42nd St., New York 36.

*Civic Leader*. The teacher edition of the *American Observer* for September 17, 1956, is devoted to election year activities, classroom procedures, and study resources. Single copy free to teachers on request. Civic Education Service, 1733 K St., Washington 6, D. C.

*Classroom Wall Charts*. Two new wall charts—"Presidential Elections in History," and "Political Parties in Action." The chronological story of 42 presidential elections with pictures, names and electoral votes cast; and how our political parties function at each level of party organization to select candidates and work for their election. Available in conjunction with subscriptions to American Education Publications, 11 West 42nd St., New York 36.

*Get Into the Game and The X Goes Here* are two new booklets directed toward the student who thinks politics is a dull subject. Teacher's manual, "Hints and Helps," suggests activities and related readings for pupils and teachers. Order from Tufts Civic Education Center, Medford 55, Massachusetts; or from the National Council for the Social Studies, 1201 Sixteenth St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C. 60 cents for single copies; 12 or more of each 45 cents per copy.

*Parties and Politics in the Local Community*. By Marguerite J. Fisher and Edith H. Starratt. An account of politics and government on the local level, with a section on aids to teaching a unit on this subject. National Council for the Social Studies, 1201 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. 143 p. 1945. 50 cents.

*Choosing the President of the United States*. By Kathryn Stone. A booklet describing the process. Suitable for junior and senior high schools; and for teaching background information. Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Foundation, 461 Fourth Ave., New York 16. 1955. 25 cents.

*Politics Is What You Make It*. By Joseph E. McLean. Discusses the importance of citizen participation on the local level. For high school pupils and adults. Public Affairs Committee, 22 East 38th St., New York 16. 32 p. 25 cents.

*Grass Roots Politics*. By James E. Downes. Describes the purpose and function of the party system in America. Tells ways the average citizen can participate in politics. Suggested activities and related readings included. Suitable for junior and senior high schools. Oxford Book

Co., 222 Fourth Ave., New York 3. 87 p. 1954. 60 cents.

*How to Get People to Register and Vote*. A digest-size booklet of practical suggestions suitable for school or community election campaigns. American Heritage Foundation, 11 West 42nd St., New York 17. 1956. 35 cents or 3 for \$1.00.

*How to Run a Register and Vote Campaign*. A check list of suggestions and a list of materials. Available from the American Heritage Foundation, 11 West 42nd St., New York 17. The check list is free.

*Role of Political Parties*. By Joseph C. Harsh. Describes the two-party system. Suitable for junior and senior high school use. Order from League of Women Voters of New York, 461 Fourth Ave., New York 16. 33 p. 1955. 25 cents.

*Forecasting the Election*. Individual desk blotters containing electoral votes by states for presidential elections from 1900 to 1952. Blank spaces to forecast 1956 electoral votes. Information on past presidential elections. Write for "Presidential Electoral Blotters," Denoyer-Gepfert Co., 5235 Ravenswood Ave., Chicago 40, Illinois.

*U.S.A. at a Glance* is a 19 by 25-inch chart designed as an election guide. Shows electoral votes by states; history of past presidential elections; presidential biographies. Houghton Mifflin Co., 432 Fourth Ave., New York 16. 17 cents each.

*Understanding Politics* explains that government is everybody's business and responsibility. Science Research Associates, 57 West Grand Ave., Chicago 10. 48 p. 1952. 40 cents.

*Binky's Special Election Exhibit* is an educational comic page showing a variety of ways that young people helped in the election-year activities. Produced as a public service by the National Social Welfare Assembly in Cooperation with National Comics Publications. Available without cost in classroom quantities. Write to Mr. Vernon Pope, 420 Madison Ave., New York 17.

*Curriculum and Materials* is a bi-monthly publication of the New York City Board of Education. The September-October 1956 issue contains a list of available materials and suggestions for activities that will help to develop a better understanding of the election process. Single copy free to teachers on request. Send a large, stamped self-addressed envelope to "C & M" Election Issue, Bureau of Curriculum Research, 130 W. 55th St., New York 19.

# The Burden of the Presidency

W. L. Gruenewald

THE CORONARY occlusion which struck President Eisenhower on September 24, 1955, added new urgency to the question of whether the nature of the Presidency should be altered. The powers and responsibilities of the office constitute a crushing burden of care and work, making it a job almost too big for any mortal. President Wilson stated that "the office is so much greater than any man could honestly imagine himself to be that the most he can do is to look grave enough and self-possessed enough to fill it."<sup>1</sup> More recently, President Eisenhower emphasized the burden imposed by emotional strains and extended periods of intense concentration associated with the tremendous responsibilities of the office.<sup>2</sup> The Presidency is a job from which the incumbent can never get completely away for rest and relaxation.

What presidents have needed most to lessen the burden has been a small group of responsible officials who could serve as "eyes and ears" and advisers in the many areas where presidential decision-making must be based upon intelligence supplied by subordinates and an integrated administrative structure with clearly defined functions and lines of authority. In looking at the broad outlines of development, we note that the structure has grown as governmental functions have increased, but generally it has not fulfilled the primary needs of the Chief Executive. Congress has appeared more willing to provide personnel and funds to perform the ministerial functions than to authorize an efficient and economical organization.

First among the agencies created to assist the President in the implementation of public policy was the Cabinet. President Washington depended heavily upon his cabinet members for

advice and counsel.<sup>3</sup> However, the Cabinet is not now in a position to fulfill that role adequately. The first Hoover Commission expressed the view that

The cabinet as a body . . . is not an effective council of advisers to the president and it does not have a collective responsibility for administration policies. That responsibility rests upon the president. The cabinet members, being chosen to direct great specialized operating departments, are not at all fitted to advise him on every subject.<sup>4</sup>

Partly because of the failure of cabinets to provide the kind of assistance needed, presidents have been prone to rely heavily on unofficial advisers such as Jackson's "Kitchen Cabinet" and Wilson's Colonel House.

Many Congressional provisions for additions to the Executive Branch have tended toward division rather than integration of administration. Repeatedly Congress has resorted to the creation of independent agencies to carry out its legislative purposes. The Federal Trade Commission and many others, not subject to presidential control, have been assigned functions that might otherwise have developed directly upon the President and cabinet departments. Those agencies constitute a "fourth branch" of government which has diminished the direct administrative duties of the President and departments; but the agencies have not greatly reduced his responsibilities because in the eyes of the public, the President is responsible for policy implementation regardless of the instrumentality directly involved.

The Civil Service Commission is an independent agency which in some respects is an exception in its relationships with the President. Since its creation in 1883, the work of the Com-

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in James Reston, "The Qualities a President Needs," *New York Times Magazine*, October 31, 1948. p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Coughlan, "How to Ease the Burdens of the World's Most Burdensome Job," *Life*, 40:125-126, February 27, 1956.

<sup>3</sup> H. B. Learned, *The President's Cabinet*. New Haven, 1912. Chap. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government. "General Management of the Executive Branch," Report to the Congress. Washington, D.C., 1949. p. 17-18.

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mission has had an important and direct bearing on presidential administration. The merit system administered by the Commission substantially reduced patronage pressures on the President, upgraded standards of the public service, and, in recent years, has been a more positive force in personnel policy development.<sup>5</sup>

A major landmark in the development of more effective presidential management of the Executive Branch was the creation of the Bureau of the Budget.<sup>6</sup> The act creating it required the President to submit an annual budget to Congress and charged the Bureau of the Budget with considerable responsibility in the preparation of the document. Through the years the Bureau, even though not at first attached directly to the Executive Office, contributed to a substantial improvement in administration. It

... gave the President a greater measure of effective control over the Cabinet departments, and to a degree even over the independent establishments, than ever before had been enjoyed by any head of the Executive Branch.<sup>7</sup>

This was a major step in equipping the President for taking a broad view of his duties and provided him with more reliable information than previously had been available. The Director of the Bureau of the Budget became a key figure in over-all administration as well as in fiscal management.

The greatly expanded role of government in the last generation led statesmen as well as scholars carefully to reexamine the structure and operation of the Executive Branch in the interest of efficiency and economy. Major landmarks in this "new look" were the work of the Brownlow Committee in 1937 and the Hoover Commissions of 1949 and 1955.<sup>8</sup> These groups made numerous recommendations for reorganization, many of which had a direct bearing on reducing the burden of the Presidency. A number of their recommendations have been adopted.

A significant result of the Brownlow Committee's study was the establishment of the modern Executive Office of the President. Under author-

ity of the Reorganization Act of 1939, President Roosevelt issued an executive order which established an Executive Office with six major subdivisions.<sup>9</sup> One of the most important divisions for reducing the presidential burden was the White House Office consisting at present of some 250 persons including the various assistants to the President, secretaries, aides, and clerical personnel. The organizational flexibility of the office has permitted President Eisenhower to utilize the chief-of-staff principle apparently with considerable success.

The same Executive Order transferred the Bureau of the Budget to the Executive Office as a division and its functions were expanded to include administrative management as well as fiscal policy. During and following the war the other four divisions were reorganized several times. Some of the reorganizations are indicated below.

The studies of the first Hoover Commission led to the Reorganization Act of 1949, which gave the President extensive powers to reorganize the Executive Branch.<sup>10</sup> Under the authority of that act both Presidents Truman and Eisenhower have submitted numerous reorganization plans to Congress, most of which have been permitted to go into effect. Among those which have a fairly direct bearing on reducing the burden of the Presidency, the following should be mentioned. The National Security Council was established as a division of the Executive Office for the purpose of advising the President with respect to the integration of domestic, foreign, and military policies in the interest of national security.<sup>11</sup> The Office of Defense Mobilization was created in 1953 as the principal planning agency in the Executive Office for all matters relating to current and future efforts to prepare the economy for a possible war.<sup>12</sup> In the same year, the President's Advisory Committee on Government Organization was established to advise the President with respect to further changes that would promote the efficiency and economy of the Executive Branch.<sup>13</sup> These recent modifications in organization, along with the McCormack Act of 1950, which authorized the

<sup>5</sup> William Seal Carpenter, *The Unfinished Business of Civil Service Reform*. Princeton, 1952. Chap. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Budget and Accounting Act, 42 *Statutes at Large* 20, 1921.

<sup>7</sup> Louis Brownlow, *The President and the Presidency*. Chicago, 1949. p. 104.

<sup>8</sup> Dr. Louis Brownlow was chairman of the President's Committee on Administrative Management, 1937. Former President Herbert Hoover was chairman of both Commissions on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, 1949 and 1955.

<sup>9</sup> Reorganization Act, 53 *Statutes at Large* 561, 1939; Executive Order 8248, September 8, 1939.

<sup>10</sup> 63 *Statutes at Large* 971, 1949.

<sup>11</sup> National Security Act, 61 *Statutes at Large* 497, 1947. The National Security Council was formally transferred to the Executive Office by Reorganization Plan IV of 1949.

<sup>12</sup> 67 *Statutes at Large* 634, 1953.

<sup>13</sup> Executive Order 10432, January 24, 1953.

President to delegate many of his duties to department heads and certain other officials, are credited with increasing the efficiency of the Executive Branch and freeing the President from many burdensome details and contacts.<sup>14</sup>

In spite of recent changes, the Presidency still is an office which taxes the ability, ingenuity, and stamina of any incumbent. Continued and perhaps extensive change will be necessary in the future. Among the proposals for additional changes is the creation of a new echelon of command immediately subordinate to the President. It would be composed of Executive Secretaries, each in charge of a cluster of departments with related activities such as defense, economic affairs, international affairs, and manpower. The Executive Secretary in each of the areas would take the initiative, in close harmony with the President, in all aspects of policy formulation and implementation in his area. The Executive Secretaries "would be responsible public officials, not staff officers; political figures, not anonymous civil servants."<sup>15</sup> As public officials they should be more effective than staff members.

<sup>14</sup> There is some controversy over the necessity for and effectiveness of the McCormack Act. See Glendon A. Schubert, "The Presidential Subdelegation Act of 1950," *Journal of Politics* 13:647ff, 1951.

<sup>15</sup> George A. Graham, "The Presidency and the Executive Office of the President," *Journal of Politics*, 12:619, November, 1950.

Looking at recent trends in reorganization, some observers have expressed concern that the President may become a prisoner of the growing structure of government. Additional staff and echelons of command may isolate him from the operational levels to the extent that he is completely dependent upon subordinates. This concern has led some to the conclusion that some sort of collective responsibility should be established. A cabinet system similar to that of Great Britain has been suggested by at least one scholar, while others prefer the model of large corporations which establish an office of operating or executive vice-president.<sup>16</sup> Thus the objective is sought by dividing the responsibilities and duties of the Presidency among two or more officials.

Although there have been numerous changes in the organization and operation of the Executive Branch and many proposals for additional changes designed to reduce the burden on the President, the office still is one of mammoth proportions. Perhaps a basic change in the nature of the office is the only solution; but it seems doubtful that the American people would countenance such a drastic step.

<sup>16</sup> See Edward S. Corwin, *The President: Office and Powers*. New York, 1940. 303-304; Marshall E. Dimock, "The Objectives of Governmental Reorganization," *Public Administration Review*, 11:233, Autumn, 1951.

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"My second point is that the President is not a Gulliver, immobilized by ten thousand tiny cords, nor even a Prometheus, chained to a rock of frustration. He is, rather, a kind of magnificent lion who can roam widely and do great deeds so long as he does not try to break loose from his broad reservation. Our pluralistic system of restraints is designed to keep him from going out of bounds, not to paralyze him in the field that has been reserved for his use. He will feel few checks upon his power if he uses that power as he should. This may well be the final definition of the strong and successful President: the one who knows just how far he can go in the direction he wants to go. If he cannot judge the limits of his power, he cannot call upon its strength. If he cannot sense the possible, he will exhaust himself attempting the impossible. The power of the Presidency moves as a mighty host only *with* the grain of liberty and morality. (From Clinton Rossiter. *The American Presidency*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1956. p. 52.)

# Poll Watching Pays Off

George F. Tyler, Jr.

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*The author of this report is Chairman of the Committee on Education of the Committee of Seventy of Philadelphia. The Committee of Seventy is a nonpartisan, nonprofit political action agency founded in 1904. Since its inception its aim has been to help the citizens to secure better government in the City of Philadelphia.*

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IN THOUSANDS of junior and senior high schools throughout the United States students regularly go through the ritual of electing class officers and members of school councils. In some areas the city or town fathers are even foresighted enough to provide the schools with voting machines, ballot boxes, and summaries of election laws so that students can accurately simulate the "real thing."

For the past ten years The Committee of Seventy of Philadelphia has successfully experimented with a program that gives secondary students an opportunity to observe the "real thing" by acting as poll watchers in the November election.

The program was started to fill two real needs: (1) to give high school students the opportunity to rub elbows with politicians and to compare their theoretical knowledge of politics with the practical workings of politics in the precinct; and (2) to help discourage disrespect and unlawful practices around the polling places.

The Committee had hoped to begin the program with a contingent of seniors from public high schools but could not when school officials took the position that since the students could not vote they should not be encouraged to serve as unofficial observers around the polls. Fortunately, the private schools were receptive to the idea, and the first contingent of some 40 student poll watchers were recruited from among seniors in three private schools.

Beginning with the initial experiment, the Committee has followed a set procedure in preparing the students to assume their duties as poll watchers. Some three or four days before the election the students are intensively briefed by both the social science teachers and representatives of the Committee. They are repeatedly and forcefully reminded that the polling place is the sanctuary of democracy and as such is to be approached respectfully and thankfully; that they are forbidden by law to enter the polling place

unless invited in by the Judge of Elections; that under no circumstances are they to get into a political argument with anyone; that they are simply observers and as such should report major irregularities to the Committee and not attempt to take action on their own. Once they are told what to look for, they are paired off, assigned to three or four contiguous precincts, and given identification cards and a *Digest of Elections*<sup>1</sup> that they are instructed to carry with them.

In the ten years that the Committee has used secondary students as poll watchers, not one has been physically harmed or even intimidated, despite the fact that they have been assigned to some of the most notorious precincts in the City. There have been incidents, however. A persevering pair of students so upset the routine of one vote broker that Mr. Broker simply closed up shop at 2:00 P.M., six hours before the designated closing time, and threw the keys to the machines and to the polling place into the Delaware River. Another curious lad helped send a Committeeman to jail when he reported to the Committee that, "Every time I look at the voting machine, I see the same pair of legs behind the curtain."

From the Committee's viewpoint the program has been an unqualified success. Information provided by students has helped to convict several election law violators. More important, scores of election officials have informed the Committee that the mere presence of the students has made them more acutely aware of their duties and less easily intimidated by political workers. The real proof of the pudding is that election irregularities have decreased significantly in those areas covered by students.

Has the program been of value to the student? Consider the following evidence:

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<sup>1</sup> *Digest of Elections*. A publication of the Committee of Seventy that summarizes election procedures, violations, and penalties.

1. All of the participating teachers have told the Committee that their students take a livelier interest in things political after a session of poll watching, and that for the first time some of their students are considering politics as an interesting hobby or career.

2. Political attitudes tests administered by the Committee conclusively show that the experience makes students far more alert to and sympathetic with the problems of the beleaguered and grossly misunderstood precinct Committeeman.

3. In many cases enthusiastic students have aroused their parents to exercise their franchise,

and in some cases have even aroused parents to investigate the shortcomings of our electoral processes.

One of the most critical needs of youth today, the National Association of Secondary School Principals declared several years ago, is to "understand the rights and duties of the citizen of a democratic society and be diligent and competent in the performance of their obligations as members of the community and citizens of the state and nation." Poll watching is a dramatic and effective technique that provides for students experiences which help produce such "diligent and competent" citizens.

### THE VOTER

(Continued from page 245)

the newspapers, the editors of which are all unscrupulous Democrats interested only in winning the election by fair means or foul. Assuming that our character means what he says, and he certainly puts up a convincing front, about the only conclusion one can draw is that he is suffering from mental corrosion that has robbed him of all independent thought, and we are reminded again of the time our sheet-metal whale pointed steadfastly to the south on his salt-encrusted shaft.

Whether this type of voter is any more dangerous than the fickle fellow who behaves in much the same way our weathervane is acting this morning, shifting to and fro with every puff of wind, involves a judgment we aren't competent to make, and wouldn't waste the time making even if we had the necessary facts from which to draw a conclusion. Neither type can claim any credit for the freedom that permits them to expose their ignorance and to indulge in their irresponsible behavior. Fortunately, their numbers are limited, or we would all be undone, and if social studies teachers tend to their proper business, which is the development of competent citizens, both the mentally corroded and the whirling type of voter will find themselves in a decidedly small and unpopular minority.

The problem isn't a new one. Back in 1780 Edmund Burke found it necessary to defend his right and his responsibility to exercise his own deliberate and measured judgment. His constituents had reprimanded him for his failure

to consult their collective opinion before he took a stand on important issues before him in Parliament. In his classic reply, which he delivered in the Guildhall in Bristol, Burke chided the voters for their folly and shortsightedness. "I did not obey your instructions," he told his electors. "No. I conformed to the instructions of truth and Nature, and maintained your interest, against your opinions, with a constancy that became me. A representative worthy of you ought to be a person of stability. I am to look, indeed, to your opinions—but to such opinions as you and I *must* have five years hence. I was not to look to the flash of the day. I knew that you chose me, in my place, along with others, to be a pillar of the state, and not a weathercock on the top of the edifice, exalted for my levity and versatility, and of no use but to indicate the shiftings of every fashionable gale."

Exactly 176 years have passed since Edmund Burke looked at a weathervane, even as we did this morning, and was unhappily reminded of a lot of the men who elected him to office. Democracy has come a long distance since Burke's day, or so we like to believe, but the weathervane type of voter is still with us in considerable numbers.

We're glad we have our whirling whale to watch. He reminds us of how irresponsible even the best of citizens may be at times. And we shall watch him with special interest during the course of the present election campaign. We may need the sandpaper and oil again.



# Notes and News

Merrill F. Hartshorn

## The Committees of the NCSS

The continuing work of the NCSS is carried on by the committees to which specific responsibilities are delegated. Most of the accomplishments of the Council are the direct result of the work of numerous committee members who freely serve the organization in the best professional spirit.

The Council's committees fall into three categories: committees of the Board, standing committees, and *ad hoc* committees. Committee members are appointed each year by the President. Each committee reports its year's work to the Board of Directors and to the membership at the Annual Meeting of the Council. Interim and special reports sometimes appear in *Social Education*.

With certain exceptions provided for in the Constitution or by the Board of Directors, committee members are appointed for the term of one year. The exceptions involve committees whose work peculiarly requires continuity of policy; on these committees members are appointed for three years, with the expiration of appointments staggered. In other cases, at the discretion of the President, a committee may be reappointed to enable it to complete a piece of work.

On behalf of the Council, the President extends thanks to those members listed below who, with loyalty to the Council, have accepted the responsibilities of committee memberships for 1956.

### COMMITTEES OF THE BOARD

The responsibilities of the various Committees of the Board of Directors pertain directly to the functioning of the Council as an organization. For this reason, membership on most of these committees is drawn largely from Board personnel, both past and present.

#### AUDITING

The Auditing Committee checks the financial records of the NCSS in the office of the Executive Secretary.  
Paul O. Carr, Dean of Instruction, District of Columbia Teachers College, Washington, D.C.  
Eber W. Jeffery, Supervising Director, Department of History, District of Columbia Schools

#### BUDGET

The Budget Committee has the responsibility of studying the financial status of the Council and recommending to the Board the next annual budget. Final determination of the budget and its adoption is a function of the Board.

Alice W. Spieseke, Teachers College, Columbia University, *Chairman*

Jack Allen, George Peabody College for Teachers  
Helen McCracken Carpenter, State Teachers College  
Trenton, New Jersey, *ex officio*

William H. Cartwright, Duke University, *ex officio*  
Emlyn D. Jones, Seattle (Washington) Public Schools  
Edgar B. Wesley, NEA Historian

#### EXECUTIVE

The Executive Committee consists of the President and two Board members appointed by the President. The committee serves as an interim board to deal with routine matters between Board meetings. When major decisions are necessary, the committee polls the Board.

Helen McCracken Carpenter, State Teachers College,  
Trenton, New Jersey, *Chairman*  
William H. Cartwright, Duke University  
Stanley P. Wronski, Boston University

#### FINANCES AND FUNCTIONS

The Committee on Finances and Functions was authorized by the Board at its meeting in 1955 to make recommendations for future policy with reference to dues and the allocation of Council income following a study of the sources of income and of the most promising avenues for expansion of Council services.

Stella Kern, Chicago Public Schools, *Chairman*  
Elsie Beck, Detroit Public Schools  
Harry Berg, Michigan State University  
Eunice Johns, Gary (Indiana) Public Schools  
Hazel Phillips Polky, Argo (Illinois) Public Schools

#### MEMBERSHIP PLANNING

The Membership Planning Committee plans and coordinates the various efforts within the Council to expand its personnel and services. It makes recommendations to the Committee on Professional Relations and the Headquarters Staff of the NCSS.

W. L. Gruenewald, Ball State Teachers College, Muncie, Indiana, *Chairman*

Jack Allen, George Peabody College for Teachers, *ex officio*

Clyde Cochran, District of Columbia Public Schools  
Merrill F. Hartshorn, Executive Secretary, NCSS

Jeffries Heinrich, Richmond (Virginia) Public Schools  
Ellen N. Holway, Headquarters Office, NCSS

Melvin R. Matthew, Decatur (Illinois) Public Schools, *ex officio*

Edythe Myers, Baltimore (Maryland) Public Schools

#### PUBLICATIONS PLANNING

The Publications Planning Committee plans and coordinates the publishing activities of the NCSS. The

Committee's membership is *ex officio*, consisting of the members of the Publications Committee, the chairman of the Curriculum Committee, the Executive Secretary and the President.

Henry C. Borger, Jr., Clark University, *Chairman*  
Helen McCracken Carpenter, State Teachers College, Trenton, New Jersey  
Ralph W. Cordier, State Teachers College, Indiana, Pennsylvania  
William B. Fink, State University Teachers College, Oneonta, New York  
Jean Grambs, Prince George's County (Maryland) Public Schools  
Merrill F. Hartshorn, Executive Secretary, NCSS

#### RESOLUTIONS

The Resolutions Committee drafts statements on matters of concern to social studies teachers for presentation to the Board of Directors and in turn to the members of the Council at the annual business meeting.

Gertrude Whipple, Wayne State University, *Chairman*  
Abraham Sondak, Forest Hills High School, Queens, New York  
William R. Spears, Denver (Colorado) Public Schools  
Lewis Paul Todd, Editor, *Social Education*, *ex officio*

#### STANDING COMMITTEES

Standing Committees of the NCSS are established and named by the Board of Directors and exist for an indefinite period of time. These committees deal with aspects of social studies education that need the continuing attention of the Council's membership.

##### ACADEMIC FREEDOM

To be announced in the November issue

##### AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS

The Committee on Audio-Visual Materials and its specialized sub-committees bring to the attention of the membership significant developments in this rapidly expanding field. The Committee also conducts experiments in this area.

Leonard A. Vitcha, Station WBOE, Cleveland Public Schools, *Chairman*  
Catherine M. Broderick, Director of Social Studies and Audio-Visual Education, Fort Wayne (Indiana) Public Schools  
Gertrude G. Broderick, Radio-TV Education Specialist, U. S. Office of Education  
Irwin Eckhauser, Audio-Visual Editor, *Social Studies*  
Alice M. Eikenberry, University High School, Illinois State Normal University  
W. Kenneth Fulkerson, Chairman of Social Studies, John Marshall High School, Rochester, New York  
William H. Hartley, Audio-Visual Editor, *Social Education*  
Leonard W. Ingraham, George W. Wingate High School, Brooklyn, New York  
Marie McMahan, Consultant, Audio-Visual Aids, Battle Creek (Michigan) Public Schools  
Mendel Sherman, Audio-Visual Center, Indiana University  
Isadore E. Staples, Principal, Fox Chase School, Philadelphia Public Schools  
William G. Tyrrell, Audio-Visual Editor, *American Heritage*

##### SUB-COMMITTEE ON AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS FOR TEACHER EDUCATION IN SOCIAL STUDIES

Alice M. Eikenberry, University High School, Illinois State Normal University, *Chairman*  
Adeline Brengle, Bloomington (Indiana) High School  
John Hamburg, Edgerton (Wisconsin) Public Schools  
Edna Oswalt, Kent (Ohio) State University  
Omer Renfrow, Evanston (Illinois) Township High School  
Gladys Smith, University School, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale

##### SUB-COMMITTEE ON TV IN SOCIAL STUDIES CLASSROOMS

Leonard W. Ingraham, George W. Wingate High School, Brooklyn, New York, *Chairman*  
Kathryn F. Bovaird, Radio-TV Assistant, Philadelphia Public Schools  
Jack W. Entin, Forest Hills High School, Queens, New York  
Philip L. Groisser, Lafayette High School, Brooklyn, New York  
Oscar Harter, Oliver High School, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania  
Richard D. Heffner, WRCA-TV, New York City

##### COOPERATION WITH LEARNED SOCIETIES

The Committee on Cooperation with Learned Societies is charged with the improvement of working relations between the NCSS and other societies. It participates in the arrangement of joint sessions with other groups to be held at the respective annual meetings, informs the officers of other societies of the work of the NCSS, develops joint projects with other groups, encourages preparation of articles on the work and publications of other societies for use in *Social Education*, and fosters any other available forms of collaboration between the NCSS and such groups.

Julian C. Aldrich, New York University, *Chairman*  
American Anthropological Association  
Alice McNiff, New York University  
American Economic Association  
Edwin R. Carr, University of Colorado  
Laurence E. Leamer, Harpur College  
American Geographical Society  
Edward T. Ladd, Yale University  
Clarence W. Sorensen, Illinois State Normal University  
American Historical Association  
Erling M. Hunt, Teachers College, Columbia University  
American Political Science Association  
Phillips Bradley, Syracuse University  
Howard White, Miami University  
American Sociological Society  
Leo Alilunas, State University Teachers College, Fredonia, New York  
Wilbur B. Brookover, Michigan State University

##### CURRICULUM

The Curriculum Committee is responsible for the development of the Curriculum Series of bulletins published by the NCSS. It provides articles on curriculum for *Social Education*, and cooperates on other publication projects involving curriculum trends.

William B. Fink, State University Teachers College, Oneonta, New York, *Chairman*

Harry Bard, Supervisor of Social Studies, Baltimore (Maryland) Public Schools  
 Hall Bartlett, Citizenship Education Project, Teachers College, Columbia University  
 Muriel Crosby, Assistant Superintendent, Elementary Education, Wilmington (Delaware) Public Schools  
 Jean Fair, Evanston (Illinois) Township High School  
 Dorothy Hamilton, High School, Milford, Connecticut  
 Adelene E. Howland, Director, Elementary Education, Mount Vernon (New York) Public Schools  
 Jonathon McLendon, Duke University  
 Warren Loring, Newton High School, Newtonville, Massachusetts  
 William J. Shortrock, Editor, *Civic Leader* Civic Education Service

## INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

To be announced in the November issue

## NOMINATIONS

The Nominations Committee prepares a slate of candidates for office to be presented to the Council at its annual business meeting, held at the time of the Annual Meeting. In the process of selecting nominees the Committee consults the membership of the Council and welcomes suggestions concerning nominations. Committee members serve a term of three years.

Stanley E. Dimond, University of Michigan, *Chairman* (1956)  
 Julian C. Aldrich, New York University (1958)  
 Lavone A. Hanna, San Francisco State College (1958)  
 Stella Kern, Chicago Public Schools (1956)  
 Ethel Ray, Terre Haute (Indiana) Public Schools (1957)  
 Myrtle Roberts, Dallas (Texas) Public Schools (1957)

## COMMITTEE ON PROFESSIONAL RELATIONS

The Professional Relations Committee, with the advice of the Membership Planning Committee, conducts a continuing campaign to enlarge the membership of the NCSS. It maintains close liaison with the Committee on Relations of State and Local Councils with the NCSS to help advance the cause of social studies at the grass roots.

The Committee is organized with one chairman or two for each state and committees within states.

W. L. Gruenewald, Ball State Teachers College, Muncie, Indiana, *Chairman*  
 Melvin R. Matthew, Decatur (Illinois) Public Schools, *ex officio*

Robert Risinger  
 Alabama Polytechnic Institute  
 Auburn, Alabama

Amy Jean Greene  
 Henderson State Teachers College  
 Arkadelphia, Arkansas

Mrs. K. G. Durvan  
 A. M. & N. College  
 Pine Bluff, Arkansas

Holland Melvin  
 West Phoenix High School  
 Phoenix, Arizona

Morris Lewenstein  
 San Francisco State College  
 San Francisco, California  
 (For Bay Area and Northern California)

F. Weaver Thornton  
 Chaffee High School and Junior College  
 Ontario, California  
 (For Southern California)

Mrs. Ethel M. Auger  
 Boulder High School  
 Boulder, Colorado

Urbane O. Hennen  
 University of Connecticut  
 Storrs, Connecticut

Ivy M. Hudson  
 Pierre S. duPont High School  
 Wilmington, Delaware

Clyde B. Cochran  
 1427 Chapin Street, N.W.  
 Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Valencia Williams  
 Booker T. Washington High School  
 1200 Northwest 6th Avenue  
 Miami, Florida

Wilma Simmons  
 Landon High School  
 Jacksonville, Florida

Marie W. Kerrison  
 Henry Grady High School  
 929 Parkway Drive, N.E.  
 Atlanta 9, Georgia

Earl Pierro  
 Fort Valley State College  
 Fort Valley, Georgia

Milton Small  
 Boise High School  
 Boise, Idaho

Albert W. Brown  
 Eastern Illinois State College  
 Charleston, Illinois

Willard J. Gambold  
 Indianapolis at Work  
 Indianapolis Public Schools  
 Indianapolis 4, Indiana

Mrs. Marguerite Skilling  
 Hartley  
 Boone Senior High-Junior College  
 Boone, Iowa

Robena Pringle  
 901 Lincoln Street  
 Topeka, Kansas

G. H. Hallman  
 University of Louisville  
 Louisville, Kentucky

Milburn T. Maupin  
 1100 Ford Place  
 Louisville, Kentucky

James Comeau  
 Oakdale High School  
 Oakdale, Louisiana

Rodney G. Higgins  
 Southern University  
 Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Frank C. Foster  
 University of Maine  
 Orono, Maine

Mrs. Edythe Myers  
 509 West Lafayette Street  
 Baltimore, Maryland

Vernon S. Vavrina  
 4201 Colonial Road  
 Pikesville 8, Maryland

Robert William Goss  
 State Teachers College  
 Fitchburg, Massachusetts

Vernon R. Potts  
 Battle Creek Central High School  
 Battle Creek, Michigan

George Knox  
 210 Burton Hall  
 University of Minnesota  
 Minneapolis 14, Minnesota

Leon A. Wilbur  
 Box 109, Station A  
 Mississippi Southern College  
 Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Mary York  
 St. Louis Public Schools  
 1532 South Grand Boulevard  
 St. Louis 4, Missouri

John F. Stachle  
 Montana State University  
 Missoula, Montana

Mrs. Irma Coombs  
 Lindell Hotel  
 Lincoln, Nebraska

Harold Brown  
 College of Education  
 University of Nevada  
 Reno, Nevada

John P. Shaw  
 Concord High School  
 Concord, New Hampshire

Maud Austin  
 503 Carlton Road  
 Westfield, New Jersey

Verna Garber  
 709B North Alameda  
 Carlsbad, New Mexico

Arthur Bernstein  
Brooklyn Technical High  
School  
Brooklyn 7, New York  
(For New York City)

Gloria Pirowski  
240 Staples Street  
Farmingdale, New York  
(For Long Island)

Florence Gabauer  
Troy High School  
Troy, New York  
(For upper New York)

Helen Wilkin  
Henderson High School  
Henderson, North Carolina

Mrs. Evelyn Johnson  
North Carolina College  
Durham, North Carolina

Mabel Planer  
307 Second Street, N.W.  
Mandan, North Dakota

Roy Parpart  
Highland Elementary  
School  
Stow, Ohio  
(For Northern Ohio)

Miller R. Collings  
Cincinnati Public Schools  
608 East McMillan Street  
Cincinnati 6, Ohio  
(For Southern Ohio)

Lawrence McKellar  
343 North Frankfort Street  
Tulsa, Oklahoma

Margery Pike  
Central High School  
Tulsa, Oklahoma

Ronald O. Smith  
Portland Public Schools  
631 Northeast Clackamas  
Street  
Portland, Oregon

Margaret Clark  
Avonworth High School  
200 Dickson Avenue  
Pittsburgh 2, Pennsylvania

William D. Metz  
University of Rhode Island  
Kingston, Rhode Island

Lawrence Giles  
University of South Caro-  
lina  
Columbia, South Carolina

George W. Brooks  
School of Education  
South Carolina State Col-  
lege  
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Constance Conner  
Aberdeen Public Schools  
502 Fourth Street, S.E.  
Aberdeen, South Dakota

Lawrence O. Haaby  
University of Tennessee  
Knoxville, Tennessee

Myrtle Roberts  
Woodrow Wilson High  
School  
100 South Glasgow  
Dallas 14, Texas

Mrs. Princella Milligan  
3018 Isabella Street  
Houston, Texas

D. L. McConkie  
Brigham Young University  
Provo, Utah

Dorothy Collins  
Johnson Teachers College  
Johnson, Vermont

Calvin W. Deam  
University of Virginia  
Charlottesville, Virginia

Elmer Fullenwider  
Edmond Meaney Junior  
High School  
20th North and East  
Thomas Street  
Seattle 2, Washington

Cecile R. Goodall  
524 Nancy Street  
Charleston 1, West Virginia

Clarence Rezek  
Richland Center High  
School  
Richland Center, Wiscon-  
sin

Eugene Cottle  
University of Wyoming  
Laramie, Wyoming

RELATIONS OF STATE AND LOCAL COUNCILS TO NCSS  
To be announced in the November issue

#### PUBLICATIONS

The Publications Committee carries out, with the advice of the Publications Planning Committee, the Council's publications program. It invites the participation of authors, makes recommendations concerning developing manuscripts, approves all manuscripts for publication and, in general, supervises all aspects of the Council's publications program.

Henry C. Borger, Jr., Clark University, *Chairman*  
Ralph W. Cordier, State Teachers College, Indiana,  
Pennsylvania  
Jean Grambs, Prince George's County (Maryland) Public  
Schools

#### TEACHER EDUCATION AND CERTIFICATION

The Committee on Teacher Education and Certification has as its purpose the development of a statement of functional standards for the education of teachers, standards which will contribute to the improvement of preparation of social studies teachers.

Victor E. Pitkin, State Department of Education, Hart-  
ford, Connecticut, *Chairman*  
Jack Allen, George Peabody College for Teachers  
Richard G. Browne, Teachers College Board, Spring-  
field, Illinois  
Dwight Curtis, Iowa State Teachers College  
Frank J. Dressler, Jr., Supervisor of Social Studies,  
Buffalo (New York) Public Schools  
Clark Gill, University of Texas  
Willis Moreland, Syracuse University  
Robert Schaefer, Washington University  
John E. Searles, Long Beach State College, California  
Wallace W. Taylor, University of the State of New  
York at Albany  
Grace Thomson, High School, Butler, New Jersey

#### Ad Hoc COMMITTEES

*Ad hoc* committees are appointed for the accomplishment of specific tasks designated by the Board or the President. Frequently the findings of an *ad hoc* committee lead to the establishment by the Board of a standing committee.

#### AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS FOR CIVICS AND PROBLEMS CLASSES

This Committee began as a sub-division of the Audio-Visual Materials Committee. Its status has been changed this year because the group will complete during 1956 the responsibility for which it was created, preparation of a bibliography in this area.

Edith West, High School, University of Minnesota,  
*Chairman*  
Frances M. Andersen, Marshall High School, Minne-  
apolis, Minnesota  
Leila Asher, Central High School, St. Paul, Minnesota  
Alice D. Brandt, High School, South St. Paul, Minnesota  
Douglas Davis, South High School, Minneapolis, Minne-  
sota  
Jeanette Henderson, Jefferson Junior High School,  
Minneapolis, Minnesota  
Alton Jensen, Audio-Visual Department, University of  
Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota

#### AFFILIATION PROCEDURES

To be announced in the November issue



John Little, High School, St. Louis Park, Minnesota  
 Ben Lundquist, High School, Great Falls, Montana  
 Roy Meyer, High School, Moundsview, Minnesota  
 Eldon Modisette, San Francisco State College, California  
 George Olsen, High School, St. Louis Park, Minnesota  
 Julius Opheim, High School, Rochester, Minnesota  
 Shirley Russell, High School, Hopkins, Minnesota

#### CONCEPTS AND VALUES

The Committee on Concepts and Values was established to determine the concepts and values that should be taught in social studies classes in the American public schools from the kindergarten through grade 14.

S. P. McCutchen, New York University, *Chairman*  
 Betty Barton, South Orange-Maplewood (New Jersey) Public Schools  
 Howard H. Cummings, U. S. Office of Education  
 Paul B. Diederich, Educational Testing Service  
 Dorothy McClure Fraser, College of the City of New York  
 Merrill F. Hartshorn, Executive Secretary, NCSS  
 Ralph C. Preston, University of Pennsylvania

#### CONSERVATION

To be announced in the November issue.

#### COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH

To be announced in the November issue.

#### COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL SAFETY COMMISSION

This Committee is undertaking a preliminary survey to locate materials and ideas in safety education which can be integrated into present social studies programs before preparing a booklet on the subject.

Elsie Beck, Detroit Public Schools, *Chairman*  
 Maud N. Austin, 503 Carlton Road, Westfield, New Jersey  
 George Hallman, University of Louisville  
 Evelyn Johnson, North Carolina College  
 William Mackensen, High School, Bladensburg, Maryland  
 From the NEA National Commission on Safety Education:  
 Harvey R. Berger, High School, Marblehead, Massachusetts  
 Max R. Goodson, Ohio State University  
 Clara G. Stratemeyer, Montgomery County (Maryland) Public Schools

#### NCSS ADMINISTRATIVE YEAR

This Committee is studying the calendar of operations of the Council with a view to making recommendations to facilitate more efficient functioning of organizational activities and to permit better allocation of responsibilities among the officers.

Dorothy McClure Fraser, College of the City of New York, *Chairman*  
 Julian C. Aldrich, New York University  
 Edwin R. Carr, University of Colorado  
 Ralph W. Cordier, State Teachers College, Indiana, Pennsylvania  
 John Haefner, State University of Iowa  
 Eunice Johns, Gary (Indiana) Public Schools  
 Emlyn D. Jones, Seattle (Washington) Public Schools  
 Melvin R. Matthew, Decatur (Illinois) Public Schools  
 Alice W. Spieseke, Teachers College, Columbia University

#### NCSS POLICY STATEMENT

The Committee on a Policy Statement for the NCSS was created by the 1950 Board to develop a statement to take the place of "The Social Studies Look Beyond the War." It is expected that work on the new statement will be completed in 1956.

Stanley Wronski, Boston University, *Chairman*  
 W. Linwood Chase, Boston University  
 Kenneth S. Cooper, George Peabody College for Teachers  
 Ruth Ellsworth, Wayne State University  
 Lawrence O. Haaby, University of Tennessee  
 Manson Van B. Jennings, Teachers College, Columbia University  
 Dorothy J. Pauls, St. Louis Public Schools

#### HANDBOOK FOR SOCIAL STUDIES COUNCILS

This Committee started as a sub-committee of the Committee on Relations of State and Local Councils to the NCSS to revise the *Handbook*. The status of the Committee is being changed because the new edition will appear in 1956.

Marguerite S. Hartley, High School, Boone, Iowa, *Chairman*  
 Ruth O. M. Anderson, Norwich (Connecticut) Free Academy  
 Alice Ebel, Illinois State Normal University  
 Edith Starratt, Sherburne (New York) Central School  
 Dorothea P. Walker, Bartram High School, Philadelphia  
 Publications Clearing House Editor, Harris L. Dante, Kent (Ohio) State University  
 Newsletter Editor, Jonathon C. McLendon, Duke University

#### SOCIAL STUDIES IN VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

To be announced in the November issue.

#### NCSS REPRESENTATIVES ON COUNCIL ON COOPERATION IN TEACHER EDUCATION

Jack Allen, George Peabody College for Teachers  
 Victor E. Pitkin, State Department of Education, Hartford, Connecticut

### NCSS Annual Meeting

The 36th Annual Meeting of the NCSS will be held in Cleveland, Ohio, November 22-24. As usual, the meeting will open with a general session on Thursday evening. Those arriving earlier in the week will find ample cultural and educational opportunities. Radio Station WBOE, "America's Pioneer School Station" will be operating Monday through Wednesday and will welcome guests. The Terminal Tower, tallest building in the United States outside New York City, will also be open Monday through Wednesday. In addition, six museums and three theaters are available.

Thursday there will be conducted tours to one of the nation's largest commercial banks, one of our largest public utilities, and to the Federal Reserve Bank. Many of the NCSS standing committees will hold open meetings on Thursday afternoon.

Each series of sectional meetings on Friday and Saturday will include discussions aimed at specific levels of instruction, primary grades through the junior college, as well as many of general interest.

Joint sessions with learned societies as well as sessions for primary and middle grades will be held Friday morning. Friday luncheon meetings will be devoted to a number of topics including the St. Lawrence Waterway, Our Heritage of Liberty, International Understanding, Automation and the Future, and Uses of Local History. Friday afternoon sectional meetings will include, among many topics, Content and Organization of Social Studies in the Primary Grades, The Rapid Learner in Elementary School, Reading Problems in the Elementary School, The Rapid Learner in Secondary School, Teaching about Public Education, The History Service Center of the American Historical Association, and Teaching about Desegregation in the Schools.

Friday speakers will include Miriam E. Mason, L. L. Waters, Edgar B. Wesley, Carl Wittke, Spencer Irwin, Ewan Clague, Lawrence E. Cremin, Ralph Carson, and Howard E. Wilson.

Saturday sections will include, among many others, Materials for Teachers of Social Studies in the Primary Grades, Teaching the Use of Maps and Globes, Old World Backgrounds and the World Today, Fused Social Studies, Core Curriculum, The Slow Learner, Conservation, A New Look at the Westward Movement, Advanced Placement in History, Teacher Education through Travel, Utilizing Current Affairs, and Audio-Visual Education.

Saturday speakers will include Gertrude Whipple, Clarence Odell, Oscar O. Winther, David Austin, Galen Jones, Howard Anderson, Harold Drummond, and Herbert Seamans.

Illinois, Ohio, and Pennsylvania Councils will hold breakfast meetings on Friday; editors and officers of local, state, and regional organizations will meet for breakfasts on Saturday.

The program chairman, William H. Cartwright, Duke University, and the Greater Cleveland Council for the Social Studies under the general chairmanship of Allen Y. King, have been at work for many months planning a program which will interest and challenge all in attendance. For further information write Merrill F. Hartshorn, Executive Secretary, National Council for the Social Studies, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. Copies of the convention program will be available by mid-October.

## Nominations for NCSS Officers for 1957

Once more it is time for the membership of the National Council for the Social Studies to be thinking about the election of officers and directors to take place in November in Cleveland.

The following criteria should be kept in mind for the selection of nominees:

1. Any nominee for the office of Vice-President should have served as a member of the Board of Directors at least one year prior to his nomination.
2. No person shall be nominated for the office of Vice-President who resides in the state where the annual meeting is being held, nor in any contiguous state.
3. The nominees for the office of Vice-President should have demonstrated leadership in the activities of the National Council for the Social Studies.

It has also been stated that no criteria, other than membership, should be established for positions on the Board of Directors, since this should be a testing ground for leadership.

It is requested that members of the National Council indicate to any one of the members of the Nominations Committee the names of members of the National Council who are, in their opinion, qualified to render distinguished service either as a member of the Board of Directors or as Vice-President. Be sure to include the following information about suggested nominees: (1) name and address; (2) educational position; (3) contributions to the work of NCSS and its affiliates; and (4) contributions to the field of social studies in general.

Such suggestions should be made as soon as possible, certainly before the first of November. The officers to be elected at the annual meeting in Cleveland are President, President-Elect, Vice-President, and three members of the Board of Directors for a three-year term.

Send your nominations to any one of the following members of the Nominations Committee: Julian C. Aldrich, School of Education, New York University; Lavone A. Hanna, San Francisco State College, San Francisco, California; Stella Kern, Waller High School, Chicago, Illinois; Ethel Ray, 28 South 20 Street, Terre Haute, Indiana; Myrtle Roberts, Woodrow Wilson High School, Dallas 14, Texas; or Stanley E. Diamond, School of Education, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, *Chairman*.

## Resolutions

The chairman of the Resolutions Committee strongly urges members of the National Council for the Social Studies to send her as soon as possible any resolutions that they would like to have considered for adoption at the Annual Meeting this Thanksgiving. Please write to:

Prof. Gertrude Whipple  
Wayne State University  
Detroit 2, Michigan

## Fulbright Awards

Applications for Fulbright awards for graduate study abroad for 1957-58 are due not later than November 1, 1956. These awards are to be made for study in various European, Asian and South American countries. Eligibility requirements for foreign study fellowships are: United States citizenship; a college degree or its equivalent at the time the award is to be taken up; knowledge of the language of the country of application sufficient to carry on the proposed study; and good health. Preference is given to applicants not more than 35 years of age.

Awards, made in the currencies of participating countries abroad, cover transportation,

expense of a language refresher or orientation course abroad, tuition, books, and maintenance for one academic year. For further information, write to the Institute of International Education, East 67 Street, New York, N.Y., *at once*.

## Indiana

During the meeting of the Indiana State Teachers Association, the Indiana Council for the Social Studies will hold its annual luncheon. It is scheduled for the 25th of October at the Continental Hotel, Indianapolis. The program chairman, Mrs. Edna S. Gullett, Manual Training High School, has secured Mr. Harry W. Schacter, President of Banner-Whitehill Company, as speaker. The Manual Training High School Choir will provide music. W. G.

All social studies teachers and social studies organizations are cordially invited to send in materials for these columns. Send in notes on the activities of your school or organization and other items of general interest to social studies teachers. Mail your material as early as possible to Merrill F. Hartshorn, Executive Secretary, National Council for the Social Studies, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. Contributor to this issue: Willard Gambold.

## WHY THERE IS A FARM PROBLEM

(Continued from page 252)

tional, i. e., a program to bring agriculture to a point where it has been stabilized and can operate in normal times with market-determined prices, would involve mainly the adjusting of the flexible prices to domestic and export demands so that there would be a penalty for over-producing. Such a program cannot be expected to provide much help to the one-third of those farm families who are in the lower income category. But a growing economy with relatively full employment would provide an increasing number of non-agricultural jobs for these people. Financial aid and training for persons desiring to move and encouragement of industrialization in rural areas would also assist in the transition period. Eventually much of the land in this area will be needed, but in larger, more efficient farms and forests.

What chances are there that some economically sound solution will be politically possible in the next four years? Actually they may be better than current news seems to indicate. Many farmers realize that the present situation in

which government is forced to buy mountainous surpluses for storage cannot continue indefinitely. In a recent survey of farmers, questions were asked to reveal their understanding of the price-support program. Then they were asked whether they favored or opposed it. Only one-third understood it and they opposed it. Nearly all those who did not understand it favored it. Urban voters can be expected increasingly to oppose the present program as surpluses mount and additional taxes are required to support it. Black, commenting on the political aspects of the problem in his presidential address to the American Economic Association in December, 1955, closed by stating that

It should be evident by this time that the education in the public affairs of agriculture that is needed in order to obtain constructive action without too long delay must not be limited to farm people. The other 86.5 percent—before long 90 percent or more—need an understanding of these affairs too. They will at times need to come to the rescue of agriculture. This coming Congress and election may be such a time.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Black, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

# Pamphlets and Government Publications

Manson Van B. Jennings

Although in this special issue we would like to be highly selective in citing materials on politics and the elections, we find, writing early in July, relatively few titles available for review, notwithstanding the flood of election-year literature that in all probability will be distributed in the weeks immediately preceding the November elections. The materials cited here, therefore, represent only a small portion of what ultimately will be available, but because these titles have been published so many months before the elections a somewhat higher proportion of them should prove to be not only less partisan in nature but more lasting in value.

## National Conventions

Once the national conventions have completed their primary task of nominating presidential and vice-presidential candidates, the spotlight of interest focuses upon the campaigns. It is not inappropriate, however, to review the nominating process which may be fully as crucial as the pay-off in November. Some time ago the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund (164 Lexington Ave., New York 16) published *Choosing the President of the U.S.A.* (43 p. 25 cents). A portion of this booklet evaluates proposals for improving the process of choosing a president, but at the same time it indicates that there is much to be said for the way our conventions function in spite of their apparent circus atmosphere.

*Primaries and Conventions* (Volume 1 of *The 1956 Presidential Election*. 30 p. free) may still be available from local CBS radio and television stations. This teacher's guide to television viewing and radio listening, prepared by the Citizenship Associates of Teachers College, Columbia University, includes a considerable amount of valuable background material on the conventions, and features a carefully developed section on student activities. Volume 2 on the election itself should be available by mid-September and will have a similar organization.

Last June the Center For Information on America (Washington, Conn.) mailed to its subscribers a *Guide to the Presidential Nominating Conventions: How Do They Work?* This four-

page discussion guide can be purchased for 25 cents and provides a thought-provoking analysis of convention procedures.

## The Presidency

After the candidates have been selected and are campaigning, it is too much to expect our students to have any prolonged interest in reviewing the nominating process. Instead their primary interest will be on the campaign. Newspapers and magazines will help us analyze the issues that crystallize as the campaign progresses, but often there is need for additional material on the election process and the nature of the Presidency. *Participating in Presidential Elections* (59 p. 50 cents; distributed by C. A. Gregory Co., 345 Calhoun St., Cincinnati, Ohio, and by Vroman's School Book Depository, 367 South Pasadena Ave., Pasadena 2, Calif.) was prepared by the Citizenship Education Project of Teachers College, Columbia University, and includes a wealth of information on the conventions, getting out the vote, registration for voting, the Electoral College, and the election campaign. One large section of the pamphlet is devoted to suggested student activities of the kind that provide direct experience, giving students the "opportunity to learn more about the duties and responsibilities of citizenship because they can share, right in their own communities, in the process of choosing the President and Vice-President. . . ."

*U.S.A. at a Glance* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 20 cents) is an historical chart that presents a "complete 1956 election guide with 30,000 facts of American history." We can't vouch for all 30,000 facts, but we'll take the publisher's word for it. Certainly it includes an amazing amount of information on such varied subjects as: number and percentage of voters in the campaigns from 1860 to 1952, electoral and popular vote from 1860 to 1952, presidents' birthdays, population of the U.S. since 1790, median age and per capita income since 1800, and popular vote for third parties. This chart, with reference material on both sides of it, is truly a bargain.

*Current History* (108 Walnut St., Philadelphia 6), the monthly magazine on world affairs that



was founded in 1914 by *The New York Times* and is now privately published, has long been well known for the scholarly quality of its articles. Two back issues, having a bearing on national elections and available for 50 cents each, are "Congressional Elections" (October 1954) and "The Presidency in the United States" (September 1953). The latter includes eight articles that are as pertinent today as they were three years ago. At this writing, the editors of *Current History* have scheduled three issues relating to politics and the elections: "Changing American Politics" (August), "American Farm Policy" (September), and "Issues of the 1956 Election" (October). These may be ordered separately at 50 cents a copy or included in a yearly subscription of \$6 for twelve issues, with discounts for quantity orders.

The illnesses of President Eisenhower have focused considerable attention on the constitutional and legal question of the circumstances under which Presidential disability should cause the powers and duties of the President to devolve upon the Vice President. *Presidential Inability* (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25: 74 p. 25 Cents) is a report of the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives in which 17 distinguished lawyers and scholars give their answers to a questionnaire submitted by this Committee. Though not organized for easy reading and therefore not recommended for high school students, this pamphlet is highly informative and should prove valuable for teachers of government.

### Politics and Government

This next title has been reviewed once before in these pages, but is worthy of a repeat notice. *Get Into The Game* (NCSS: 62 p. 60 cents) is one of the Living Democracy Series published by the Civic Education Center at Tufts University. In the form of a series of letters between a veteran wounded in Korea and his younger brother back home, *Get Into The Game* tells the story of politics at the local level—the tale of a political fight for the office of mayor. It is a dramatically written, personalized account that offers a high order of vicarious experience.

The nature of politics at the local or so-called grass-roots level is also revealed in some of the publications of the Young Republican Federation (1625 Eye St., N.W., Washington 6) and the Young Democratic Clubs of America (1001 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington 6). Lists of their materials will be sent upon request and

include many titles on such subjects as publicity, getting out the vote, raising money, and organizing local campaigns.

Not all who are engaged in politics or deal with politicians manage to pursue their activities in accordance with the highest of moral and ethical principles. Accordingly, Congress and the Civil Service Commission have provided certain rules and regulations designed to discourage corruption in politics. The texts of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, as amended, the Hatch Political Activities Act, as amended, various related acts, and pertinent Civil Service Commission Regulations have been reprinted in a 42-page, 25-cent booklet available from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25.

For newcomers to the United States, but also of interest to teachers and others who are helping these newcomers adjust to our American way of life, the Common Council for American Unity (20 West 40th St., New York 18) has published *How To Become a Citizen of the United States* (144 p. \$1.50) and *Life in America* (96 p. 50 cents). The former gives detailed information on each step of the naturalization process, concluding with procedures for registering and voting; one section deals with the loss of American nationality or citizenship. The latter outlines American history and government for the newcomer and describes our economy, our culture, and our social life.

Beginning with a preliminary exploration of the basic principles relating to the role of government in a free society, *The Role of Government in Developing Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy* (American Enterprise Association, 1012 14th St., N.W., Washington 5: 53 p. \$1) provides a description and evaluation of government activities in the atomic field to date, and delineates the role that government should play in developing peaceful uses of atomic energy. Arthur Kemp, the author of this study, has been an editorial and research assistant for Herbert Hoover since 1943. In the concluding chapter Dr. Kemp recommends that "The ultimate goal, so far as peaceful uses are concerned, would be gradually to develop the Atomic Energy Commission into a purely regulatory agency having as its chief functions protection against health and safety hazards, inventorying and protecting the nation's stock of nuclear materials, fostering research and the dissemination of the results thereof, and maintaining freedom of entry into, and exit from, an atomic industry competitively owned and operated."

# Sight and Sound in Social Studies

William H. Hartley

## Vitalizing the Study of Elections

A Presidential election year offers a stimulating opportunity to breathe new life and realism into the study of government and citizenship. Many communities offer young people actual experience in community projects such as the "Don't Forget to Register" or "Get Out and Vote" campaign. In the school there can be lively mock conventions and straw votes complete with speeches, balloting and press releases of how the young citizens cast their votes.

There is a rich storehouse of audio-visual materials which may be utilized in civics, history, and problems classes. Campaign posters and publicity releases make attractive and stimulating bulletin board displays. The "Our Democracy" charts of the Denoyer-Geppert Company (6235-59 Ravenswood Ave., Chicago 40) and the "Citizenship for Democracy" charts of the A. J. Mstrom Company (3333 Elston Ave., Chicago 18) help pupils to get into the underlying principles upon which our system of elections rests.

A selected list of motion pictures, filmstrips, and recordings for the unit on elections is given on these pages. The motion pictures may be rented from your nearest educational film library. A list of the producers from whom further information may be obtained is given at the end of the article. We are indebted to Dr. William G. Tyrrell of the State Department of Education, Albany, New York, for the excellent list of recordings.

## Motion Pictures

A large number of motion pictures exist on various aspects of our government. A great many of these show the duties and powers of the President and are valuable for use in a Presidential election year. Here, however, we have confined ourselves to those which deal with the elections and the process of nomination and the like. In deciding which of the films listed will best serve your purpose, you may rely generally upon the brief annotations given below, but in the final analysis the film must be previewed before it can be used with maximum effectiveness in the local teaching-learning situation.

*Gallup Poll.* 11 minutes. Teaching Films Custodians. An interesting insight into the conduct of public opinion polls. Mr. Gallup explains the working of his polls, takes the viewers into his office where facts are tabulated, and shows field interviewers at work.

*General Elections.* 20 minutes. British Information Service. Gives a good contrast of the British and United States systems of conducting elections. Visits Kettering, England, during a general election and shows how the voters are influenced. Traces the process from nominations, campaigns, and methods of voting to final results.

*Government Is Your Business.* 27 minutes. Christophers Inc. The general theme shown here is that weak, corrupt, and inefficient government is caused more by the weakness and lack of interest on the part of good people than by the strength of those who use evil methods.

*How We Elect Our Representatives.* 11 minutes. Coronet. This is an elementary film on the whole election process. It shows a girl who has just turned 21 and is taking part in her first election. We see how she registers, gets information, votes, learns how the ballots are counted, and hears the election results.

*Meaning of Elections.* 11 minutes. Coronet. Stresses the importance of the democratic process and the idea of equality in our election system. It shows how an amateur can be elected if he really stands for something worthwhile and points out the responsibility of an official to his constituency. The effect of inactive voters is pointed out. Removal of unsatisfactory officials by voting them out is pictured.

*Political Parties.* 18 minutes. Encyclopedia Britannica Films. A somewhat philosophical treatment of the way in which a party helps the voter to exercise his freedom of opinion. The function of parties is developed and the point is made that political parties are as important when they are in opposition as when they are in power.

*Politics and Elections.* 19 minutes. Progressive Pictures. Gets down to the grass roots of politics by showing how the party works on the precinct level. Exposes dishonest political practices and the need for an alert citizenry. Shows how a candidate gets his name on the ballot and how the political machine works.

*Presidential Elections.* 15 minutes. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films. Describes recent campaigns and analyzes their meaning with charts and graphs. The structure and strategy of the organization of a Presidential campaign is explained. Points out major political moves involved in nominations and elections in major campaigns.

*Some People Stayed Home.* Teaching Films Custodians. This is an excerpt from the Paramount feature film entitled "The Great McGinty." It shows how a political machine won an election when the good people did not bother to vote and the machine hired vagrants to vote.

*Tickets to Freedom.* 14 minutes. Ford Motor Co. (Free). We are all politicians because of the power of our vote. The causes of non-voting are examined. A program for becoming good politicians is set forth.

*Tuesday in November.* 17 minutes. Office of War Information (Castle Films). This governmental film explains

how elections are held in America by taking the audience to a small California town during the 1944 Presidential campaign. It shows how the town watched and participated in national affairs from the nominating convention to election day.

*Voting Procedures*, 14 minutes. Indiana University. This is a simple, clear explanation of registration, types of ballots, how to become informed on the campaign issues and the voting procedure.

*You Can Do It*, 15 minutes. UAW-CIO. Explains how voters can make their weight felt at election time. Tells about the rules for eligibility for a voter, the importance of being registered, and how to make your vote count.

*You Can Win Elections*, 22 minutes. American Federation of Labor. Sponsored by the Independent Voters of Illinois, this film shows how an average man, Arthur Barnes, learns about the work of a party precinct man. The film discusses the major steps in getting out the vote.

*You the People*, 22 minutes. Teaching Films Custodians. This theatrical short shows the work of a corrupt municipal political machine. By forcing public employees to contribute to campaign funds and by using unfair methods such as the stuffing of ballot boxes, they seem to have the election won until alert voters defeat them.

## Filmstrips

The filmstrip is an inexpensive series of still pictures which may be studied at length and which lend themselves to a variety of approaches. Because they are so inexpensive they may be purchased and used over and over again. By building up a library of filmstrips each school can have on hand the materials its teachers need when they need them. For this reason, the price has been given with each of the following titles.

*American Parties and Politics*. New York Times. \$2.50. An historical approach to an understanding of how our parties grew and the part they play in our elections. The benefits and evils of the two party systems are pointed out.

*How We Elect Our President*. Popular Science. (One of the 1956 offerings of the Filmstrip-of-the-Month Club which offers 9 intermediate grade strips for \$30.) Through a series of drawings this strip shows the entire process by which candidates are selected, campaigns conducted, elections are held, and the Electoral College functions.

*Political Parties*. SVE. \$6. A brief history of the organization of the major parties. A treatment of party committee organization. Traces the nomination procedure.

*Political Parties and Elections*. McGraw-Hill. \$5. Takes up Constitutional provisions for voting and state restrictions upon the suffrage. Then has sequences on nominations, forms of ballots, and the need for the voter to be informed and active.

*Popular Sovereignty—U.S.A.* Heritage Filmstrips, Inc. Discusses the way in which our government is based upon popular control. Shows how the people make their will known through elections, lobbying, pressure groups.

*We, The People*. McGraw-Hill. \$6.50. Discusses the history of popular government in the United States. Shows how the Constitution provided for popular control. Discusses elections and the responsibility of the voter.

*The Young Citizen Looks at Politics*. McGraw-Hill. \$6. Deals with the following topics: political parties, pri-

maries, nominating convention, campaign, registration, voting, and the Electoral College.

*Your Vote—A Priceless Heritage*. Worker's Education Bureau. \$10. This sound filmstrip (record plays at 33 1/3 rpm) explains how the worker is too often tied down with restrictive legislation because he doesn't vote and get active in the country's political life. Points to the Taft-Hartley Act as an example of the type of law which he must do something about through his vote.

## Recordings

*I CAN HEAR IT NOW*. Columbia long-playing recordings: ML-4095, Vol. 1; ML-4261, Vol. 2; ML-4340, Vol. 3.

These pace-setting recordings of audible history cover the period from 1919 to 1949. Material in the three decades is arranged by quadrennial presidential elections and also is rich in political details of the presidential administrations. In addition to political information, there is attention to economic history and international affairs with a variety of the incidentals and trivia of social history.

Actual voices and sounds of the period supply a realistic understanding of personalities and events. In the proper chronological sequence—but not in the order of release—Volume 3 covers the period from 1919 to 1932. It opens with an address of Woodrow Wilson and concludes with Franklin D. Roosevelt's first inauguration. This volume predates effective recording engineering so that many of the words and sounds have been re-enacted. They are skillful duplications of the original. The first volume of the series extends from 1933 to 1945 and is largely concerned with the Roosevelt period of depression and war. The immediate post-World-War-II period is covered in Volume 2, and deals with events from 1945 to 1949. As this is the shortest period of the series, the volume devotes more attention to each subject, although it should be remembered that this, too, is a condensed version of American history.

Edited and narrated by Edward R. Murrow, the recordings are rapid-paced and hold attention in an effective and vivid manner. They will stimulate the interest of high school classes, in various aspects of politics and presidential elections.

*MR. PRESIDENT—FROM FDR TO IKE*. RCA-Victor long-playing recordings: LM-1753.

This recording duplicates some of the material in the *I Can Hear It Now* series, although it has the advantage of taking the historical account to the 1952 campaign. There is, moreover, a stricter

adherence to the sequence of political events in the 20-year period. Voices of presidential candidates disclose significant political issues. With the customary use of musical punctuation throughout the narration and recorded words, the recording consists of the actual speakers and their statements. The editing has been designed to intensify the dramatic quality of the material. As a result, the recording moves swiftly from subject to subject and holds the listener's attention.

It might be necessary to warn some students that often the juxtaposition of statements—as in a conversation—is not a representation of the actual situation.

**CITIZENS IN ACTION.** Records I and II. Audio Classroom Services, 323 S. Franklin Street, Chicago 6.

In this pair of long-playing records, five separate programs provide a basis for discussing significant aspects of political activities. Record I, "People in Politics," consists of "What Is Politics?"—a consideration of the need for citizens to be actively concerned with political affairs; "Operation Voter," a diagnosis of a voter's behavior and the factors that influence his political decisions; and "Three Key Men," a forthright explanation of the importance of local political leaders and their relation with other party officials. On Record II, "Politics and the Public," are four topics for discussion: "The Lobbyist" shows both the purpose and function of lobbyists as well as the techniques used in influencing political action; "Polls and Politics" demonstrates the advantages and limitations of public opinion polls, with special attention to the failures of pollsters in 1936 and 1948; "Parties and Platforms" considers the nature and construction of political platforms; "Rascals In, Reformers Out" traces a familiar yet interesting sequence of good government and machine politics.

Each of the programs combines narrations with dramatic sketches and realistic backgrounds. They furnish appropriate material for motivating a discussion of politics and elections on the senior high school and college level. The approach is vivid and stimulating, but the expressions and concepts make these records most useful among fairly mature groups. Eugene Miller wrote and directed these admirable presentations in political science.

WILLIAM G. TYRRELL

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## A Source List of Producers

- American Federation of Labor, Department of Education, 1625 Eye St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.
- British Information Service, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20.
- Castle Films Division, United World Films, Inc., 1445 Park Ave., New York 29.
- Christophers Inc. 18 E. 48th St., New York 17.
- Coronet Films, Coronet Building, Chicago.
- Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc., 1150 Wilmette Ave., Wilmette, Illinois.
- Ford Motor Co., Film Library, 15 E. 53rd St., New York 22.
- Heritage Filmstrips, Inc., 89-11 63rd Drive, Rego Park 74, New York.
- Indiana University, Extension Division, Bloomington, Indiana.
- McGraw-Hill Book Co., Text-Film Division, 330 W. 42nd St., New York 18.
- New York Times, Office of Educational Activities, 229 W. 43rd St., New York 18.
- Popular Science, Audio-Visual Division, 353 Fourth Ave., New York 10.
- Progressive Pictures, 6351 Thornhill Drive, Oakland 11, California.
- SVE—Society for Visual Education, 1345 W. Diversey Parkway, Chicago 14.
- Teaching Films Custodians, 25 W. 43rd St., New York 36.
- UAW-CIO, Film Division, 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit.
- Worker's Education Bureau, American Federation of Labor, Suite 801, 724 Ninth St., N.W., Washington, D.C.



# Notes on Books

## Focus: Government and Elections

Edward T. Ladd

### A Book for the Department Library

ADVENTURES IN POLITICS. By Richard L. Neuberger. New York: Oxford University Press, 1954. 210 p. \$3.50.

Too few analytical books appear from the pens of practicing politicians. The junior Senator from Oregon wrote these disarming but incisive comments on grass-roots politics while he was still a state legislator. They reflect a critical insight into some of the difficulties in making a democratic representative system work.

The author and his wife both got themselves elected to the Oregon legislature—a rare tandem in our political life. They belonged to the Democratic minority and seemed to thrive on the difficulties of being part of the “permanent poor relations of Oregon politics.” As the author underlines by many examples from many states, one-party politics is the source of much of the inefficiency and most of the corruption in American state government. This volume is, indeed, one of the few, and perhaps the best available “case study” of one-party state politics.

Mr. Neuberger—as many readers of his varied articles know—is an interesting writer. This volume is no exception. Informal in approach and almost conversational in style, it will interest future as well as present citizens. In an appendix, “Politics and You,” Mr. Neuberger lists 35 myths and clichés of politics, as questions applicable to every citizen. His answers are candid and penetrating notes on the practical value of integrity in winning, and staying in, office.

PHILLIPS BRADLEY

Department of Political Science  
School of Citizenship and Public Affairs  
Syracuse University

### Books to Use in Teaching

CIVICS FOR AMERICANS. By Nadine I. Clark, James B. Edmonson, and Arthur Dondineau. New York: Macmillan Company, 1954. 536 p. \$2.76.

Nadine I. Clark is Chairman of the Social Studies Department of the Evanston Township High School; James B. Edmonson is Dean Emeri-

tus of the School of Education of the University of Michigan; and Arthur Dondineau is Superintendent of Schools in Detroit.

*Civics for Americans*, written for the ninth grade, is divided into seven units which cover pretty much the areas necessary to be considered in such a course: the American way of life, the basic institutions of our culture, the three levels of government, citizenship, economics, and a look to the future in the matter of conservation, community planning and careers.

The book is interestingly and entertainingly written. The authors demonstrate much writing skill with much of the explanation accomplished by dialogue. Some critics might feel that the book is too chatty, but a real effort has been made to relate the content to the pupil's experience.

The charts, cartoons and other illustrations are excellent. The study helps at the ends of the chapters are interesting and useful.

Altogether, schools in the throes of choosing a new civics text should not fail to examine *Civics for Americans*.

RUTH O. M. ANDERSEN

Norwich Free Academy  
Norwich, Connecticut

UNDERSTANDING OUR GOVERNMENT. By George G. Bruntz. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1955. 550 p. \$4.00.

George G. Bruntz, Professor of Social Science and Education at San Jose State College, has written a very useful textbook for high school government courses. Teachers and students alike will find the format attractive, and language simple, the style clear, the illustrations meaningful, and the cartoons thought-provoking.

The coverage is comprehensive. The first eight units explain the structural and functional organization of the local, state, and Federal governments. The last two units deal with seven specific problems of American democracy: budgets, banking, business, labor, agriculture, foreign policy, and the UN.

Certain features distinguish this text. Each of

the twenty-nine chapters is prefaced with an apt quotation, an intriguing montage, and an important word-list; it concludes with a summary, an up-to-date bibliography, and a large number of class activities.

To what extent teachers and students will take to the end-of-chapter problems—each of which has a four-fold sequence (research, analysis, attitude, and action)—is hard to tell. Only the acid test of the “class struggle” will determine their practicability.

My one serious reservation with reference to this book is its skimpy treatment of human rights. “Understanding our government” requires a sensitivity to the great controversial issues which periodically sweep through our political forums and leave us divided and disturbed. A textbook writer in American Government has the responsibility of examining extensively and intensively the bitter contemporary problems which trouble us: Fifth Amendment cases, Loyalty-Security Programs, and others. Perhaps the second edition of this book, for it deserves one, will remedy this weakness.

ISIDORE STARR

Brooklyn (N.Y.) Technical High School

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**CIVICS FOR YOUTH.** By James B. Edmonson, Arthur Dondineau, and Mildred C. Letton. New York: Macmillan Company, rev. ed., 1954. 405 p. \$2.48.

This is a revision of a 1946 junior high school text by the late Dean of the University of Michigan's School of Education, Detroit's Superintendent of Schools, and an instructor at the Laboratory School of the University of Chicago. In an era of multi-colored plates, artistic drawings, dual-columned pages, and varied type, it cannot expect to make much of a dent in the market. Even with new illustrations, “numerous improvements,” and three rewritten chapters, the format has an aura of the 1930's. One wonders why there are such differences between this text and another by two of the same authors offered by the same publisher.

This text reflects the modern trend in civics books—the presentation of varied tidbits from safety to conservation. One section is devoted to the traditional machinery of government and a goodly portion of this to important aspects of local government frequently overlooked or discounted.

Civics texts have to contain a variety store approach to satisfy enough prospective purchas-

ers, all offering somewhat different courses. Hence no chapter is adequate by itself. Since numerous teachers will not move far beyond the text and many schools do not have the necessary resources to enrich such meager fare, school-room conditions result which are major reasons for the dissatisfaction with many courses as well as the books. Thus the chapter on Education is a very limited summary not touching upon real civic problems such as federal aid, general versus vocational education, and segregation, which really interest students.

The questions and suggested activities vary in length, content, and type. Some chapters have excellent suggestions to help the teacher move the students from the classroom and out of the text. Certain valuable, general suggestions which may aid in developing a more motivated class are buried in an Appendix and not identified in the Preface or the Table of Contents. The reviewer was disappointed to find so little related to developments in citizenship education; the book does not even seem to draw upon the valuable five-year study concluded in the school system of one of the authors.

RICHARD E. GROSS

School of Education  
Stanford University

●

**GUARANTEED FOR LIFE: YOUR RIGHTS UNDER THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.** By Bruce A. Findlay. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1955. 137 p. \$1.33 (paper); \$2.00 (cloth).

The author, A.B., M.A., Associate Superintendent of Schools in Los Angeles, has had over thirty years' experience in the field of education, city government, and business. He heads Audio Visual Education in Los Angeles schools. He is co-author of *See What You Say*. In the absence of a preface, from the manner of the writer's analysis of his subject, his illustrations, and his special teaching interests, I take it that this book is meant as a text.

Creditable features of the book are its introduction, showing how citizens participate in government; and its last two chapters, where it is pointed out how citizens may participate intelligently, and where provisions in the original Constitution, which were later amended to bring it in line with present-day developments, have been crossed out.

However, this book suffers from over-illustration, which encumbers, rather than clarifies the text. Often—especially on right-hand pages,

meant to show what would happen without constitutional guarantees—the illustrations are unrelated to the text below, because text from a left-hand page is continued on the opposite side. The numerous small pictures sprinkled over several pages of the book merely take up space.

ANNA C. KAISER

New York (N.Y.) Public Schools

Included in the worthwhile available books are the Cornell U.'s Great Seal paperbacks, *The United States in 1800*, by Henry Adams, *Are Men Equal*, by Henry A. Meyers, and Edwin S. Corwin's *The Higher Law*, a background of American Constitutional Law.

(J.W.E. in the New York City A.T.S.S. Bulletin)

### On the Intellectual Frontier

**VOTING: A STUDY OF OPINION FORMATION IN A PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.** By Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld and William N. McPhee. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. 395 p. \$7.50.

**THE VOTER DECIDES.** By Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin and Warren E. Miller. Evanston: Row, Peterson and Company, 1954. 242 p. \$4.75.

Unlike their colleagues in the natural sciences, students of the social and political behavior of man have frequently been accused of producing nothing more than polysyllabic common sense. The range of possible statements about human behavior sometimes appears to have been covered, long ago.

Here are two studies which make *new* statements about politics and, more important, document them. They are typical of the happy contemporary tendency to take social studies out of the armchair and the library and into the field—to find out precisely how people behave, employing the sober rules of investigation established in the natural sciences and, when possible, quantifying the results.

Berelson and Lazarsfeld are connected with a group of Columbia University scholars who have made intensive opinion studies of individual local communities, during presidential election campaigns, since 1940. Campbell and his University of Michigan associates are also interested in voting behavior. They use the complementary technique of polling a representative sample of the entire nation, before and after an election.

Without asking voters their opinions and finding out their personal characteristics, the observer is forced to pore over voting statistics,

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relying upon guesses about who voted for whom and why. With survey data—answers to questions asked voters over a time period—it is possible to pose such queries as: What voters are likely to be "converted" during a campaign? Do women vote differently from men? How are people of different economic levels likely to vote?

These studies represent a young science, which can give new answers to old questions. To take a single example: Most civics books point to the independent voter as the pivotal figure in the democratic process. This individual observes the campaign, thinks carefully and makes a voting decision, often the deciding margin for the winning side. Berelson shows that, to an overwhelming extent, this personage is a myth. Most "uncommitted" citizens are apathetic; the group which reads the most, is most interested and votes most often, consists largely of the highly partisan.

Similar facts, challenging the reader's assumptions and provoking thought, abound in these works. The occasionally difficult technical language may discourage some readers. However, the fruits are worth the labor of the harvest.

FRED I. GREENSTEIN

Department of Political Science  
Yale University

### Other Books to Know About

GOVERNMENT BY INVESTIGATION. By Alan Barth. New York: Viking Press, 1955. 231 p. \$3.00.

THE TORMENT OF SECRECY: THE BACKGROUND AND CONSEQUENCES OF AMERICAN SECURITY POLICIES. By Edward A. Shils. Glencoe: Free Press, 1956. 238 p. \$3.50.

CASE STUDIES IN PERSONNEL SECURITY. By Adam Yarmolinsky. Washington: Bureau of National Affairs, 1955. 310 p. Free.

Each of these volumes contributes to our understanding of the profound conflict of ideas and practices within our society over loyalty. The author of the first will be remembered for his trenchant *The Loyalty of Free Men*.<sup>1</sup> Here he turns his attention to the past decade of congressional investigating practices as they affect individual people—and the traditional applications of civil rights in this country.

After tracing the need for an evaluation of the power of investigation by legislative bodies, Mr. Barth analyzes recent "legislative trials." He finds the purpose of genuine exploration of legislative problems to have been too often subordi-

<sup>1</sup> Reviewed in the October, 1955, issue of *Social Education*.



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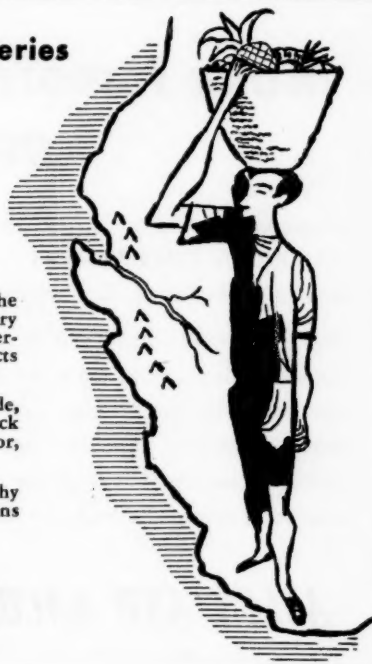
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nated to the publicity-hunger of individual Congressmen and Senators. Mr. Barth also deplores judicial interpretation of the self-incrimination rule, under which its waiver on a single question may be used to require answers to any others a committee may choose to ask. He demonstrates pretty conclusively that this interpretation has closed off access to useful information from witnesses willing to speak for themselves but unwilling to implicate their friends by innuendo.

In a final chapter, Mr. Barth discusses congressional efforts to improve procedures. Legislative "restraints" on unbridled committee investigations have been suggested by many members of both houses, adopted by a few committees, but not written into the permanent rules of either house. Mr. Barth thinks a Code of Fair Committee Procedure would be useful, and suggests also that the British Tribunal of Inquiry or the New York State Moreland Act Commissioner investigatory process would be even more effective. In the last analysis, however, he believes our best guarantee of fair investigations lies in the vigilance of Congress—and the people.

Mr. Shils' study seeks to discover why we have recently indulged so heavily in official pursuit of subversion and to appraise what the conse-

quences have been. As to the first, he finds deep strains of anti-subversive fears in the bloodstream of American politics. The changing world of the last decade is one. "The deeper sources" he describes as "hyperpatriotism," "xenophobia," "isolationism," "fundamentalism," "the fear of revolution," and "populism." In a brilliant chapter he analyzes "the strain of politics" for the legislator in his relations with "bureaucrats," the intellectually informed, and the opposition party. This strain, he thinks, makes for a search for political security in a sure-fire formula for popularity—rooting out subversives, imagined if not real.

The consequences of this torment of secrecy Mr. Shils finds to be the attrition of our political principles (such as the separation of powers). The loss of autonomy of opinion in science no less than in public debate of policy in the press and on the hustings is even more acute. The author believes in a pluralistic society in which a variety of values and ideas live harmoniously. True security lies in the coalition of the conservative and liberal traditions against the extremisms of right and left. "Extremism is the enemy of the autonomy of individuals and of corporate bodies—it is, therefore, the enemy of

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civil society and of the moderate politics of pluralism."

Mr. Yarmolinsky's study is precisely described by its title. Here 50 individual cases of the process of security-check are detailed, how they arose, what procedures were applied, what results occurred for the individual. Any appraisal of any of these stages is scrupulously avoided. The record speaks for itself. It is not pleasant. Much of the "evidence" seems dubious or trivial—at least to the lay reader. What does stand out is how involved we have become in our security procedures in the use of unidentified, and so unchallengeable, information—a real "torment of secrecy" for the victim and all concerned.

Taken together, these three books offer us a vivid portrayal of a major political dilemma of our time. The need for protecting our real security in the face of the threats confronting us is obvious. The issue of preserving the rights of individuals and minority groups is no less real. Here, we can find some of the ways in which we have subordinated the latter to the former, and in which to redress the balance.

PHILLIPS BRADLEY

Syracuse University

PROPERTY, PROFIT, AND PEOPLE. By Thurman Andrew. Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1954. 242 p. \$3.75.

Every decade produces critics of the status quo, but seldom does one find the critic offering his solution to the problem which he detects in the social, economic, and political structure. This volume is an indictment of the American capitalist system, resembling in some respects the *Progress and Poverty* work of Henry George. It is also a general plan for the correction of the evils which the author describes.

The thesis presented by Thurman Andrew, author, educator, and business man, is clearly that the law is on the side of those who own property; and, those who derive profit from the use of private property are actually causing a loss to those who own no property. He concludes that the traditional Law of Supply and Demand is really a passive force which rests entirely in the hands of private and public manipulators. Hence, to end exploitation of the masses, the power of property must be eliminated by changes in the law.

In order to achieve his ideal state, which is termed Possession-for-use, Andrew advocates four

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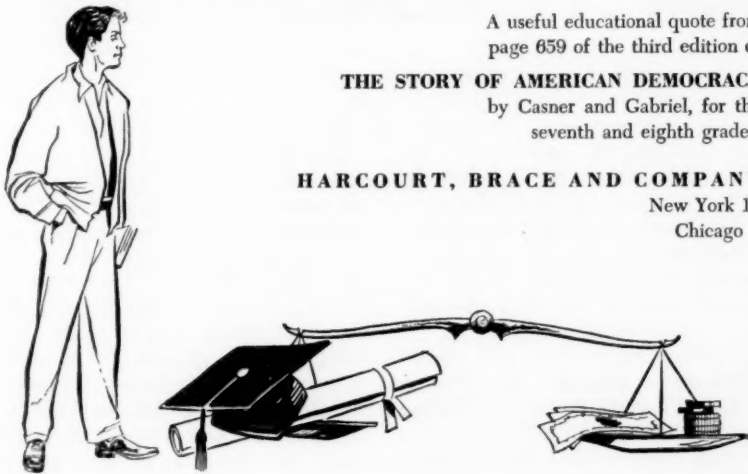
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There is merit in works of this sort where the author unhesitatingly expresses his opinions about the pitfalls of the contemporary system. And, certainly, there is a good deal of truth in the examples which Andrew cites of the illogical and discriminatory reactions of the classical economic forces of Supply and Demand, and Competition. However, the thesis and the solution offered in this work are both based upon

definitions and assumptions which are not generally accepted nor valid. Furthermore, the solution to economic distress which is here presented is actually a system of enforced Cooperation, yet the author makes no study of the Cooperative movement in America, nor does he evaluate the reluctance of the American public to enter Cooperative enterprise voluntarily.

This text should not be considered an exhaustive economic study, but rather a subject for debate. A reading of this work could generate many challenging points for discussion. This kind of reading should stimulate teachers of history and social studies to more positive, critical thinking about the American economy. However, because of the format and organization, this book by Thurman Andrew would be difficult reading for students of average background and ability.

FREDERICK E. BAUER, JR.

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